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Palestinian Affairs

'Arafat Outlines Proposals on Palestinian Problem

NC2607142889 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1102 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa, 26 Jul (MENA)—Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat has described Egypt's chairmanship of the OAU as the most important event of the African summit currntly taking place in Addis Ababa. He said: This is an Arab-African celebration. He called for the second Arab-African dialogue summit to be held in Cairo next year.

'Arafat refused to describe the Mauritanian-Senegalese and Chadian-Libyan disputes as cases of ethnic strife among Arabs and Africans. He said that such disputes are among Muslim African countries, and should be resolved at African or Islamic summits.

The Palestinian president called for the Namibian example to be followed in the case of the Palestinian problem.

He challenged [Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq] Shamir and the Israeli leadership to curb the intifadah [uprising] before ending the occupation.

'Arafat said that a Marshall Plan should be launched for the Arab region, similar to that undertaken in Europe in the wake of World War II.

'Arafat was speaking during a meeting with MENA and Egyptian newspaper chief editors in Addis Ababa last night. [passage omitted]

On resolving the Palestinian problem, 'Arafat said that the Namibian example should be followed, and these steps taken:
1. A partial Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian territories should be secured;
2. A timetable should be drawn up for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops in stages over a period of 27 months, similar to the Namibian example;
3. The United Nations should supervise the elections, and refugees and deportees should be enabled to return to the West Bank and Gaza; and
4. A date for independence should be determined.

'Arafat remarked that the Palestinian problem differs from the Namibian one in two important respects; namely, the unprecedented intifadah which has continued for 20 months, and the total Arab support, which has been secured for the first time.

Is the Namibian example not an American one? 'Arafat asked. He added: If the Americans want to hold elections in Palestine, they have to adopt the same approach as they took in Namibia.

Responding to a question, 'Arafat stated that there is no Palestinian-Israeli dialogue in the traditional sense, but that there is a dialogue among Palestinians and certain Israeli forces, mostly democratic. He referred in this context to open meetings which were held in The Hague, New York, and Vienna. He said that Abba Eban took part in those meetings, together with other members of the Israeli United Workers Party. He added that officials of the Likud Central Committee attended meetings in Vienna.

The Palestinian president praised the positive and well-developed stances adopted by international blocs regarding the Palestinian issue, notably those of Africa, the EC, and the Warsaw Pact, as well as the stand of the Vatican and the pope.

Regarding the popular Palestinian intifadah in the occupied territories, 'Arafat declared that he challenges Shamir and the entire Israeli leadership to end this intifadah before the Israeli occupation is terminated. He asserted that [words indistinct] and that Israeli society has come to feel that it is at war with itself. He added: We have not yet reached the exemplary stage of Sabra and Shatila camps which [word indistinct] for 5 consecutive years, despite the siege and despite four massacres which left only 116 men, women, and children alive.

'Arafat pointed out that the situation in the occupied territories has not calmed down since November 1986 when the Israeli Cabinet decided to use the iron-fist policy. He noted that the Palestinian leadership issued a statement starting the battle. He added: Events in the occupied territories erupted in December 1987, when we held a meeting in Baghdad and established the intifadah's supreme committee under my chairmanship and the daily followup committee under the chairmanship of Abu-Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], whom the Israelis treacherously assassinated in Tunis.

'Arafat added: Just as Shamir has changed his plan, we also have a plan and, as I said officially before, there is a limit to patience.

'Arafat remarked that the United States could resolve the issue if it wanted to. He noted that the problem is that the United States has not yet developed a solution. He said that there is a U.S. lobby in Israel just as there is an Israeli lobby in the United States.

'Arafat asserted that Israeli losses as a result of the Palestinian intifadah amount to $3.7 billion. He pointed out that 70,000 Israeli soldiers, in addition to the security forces, have been permanently deployed in the streets for 20 months as a result of the intifadah. He said that the Israelis now have aircraft which they cannot repair as a result of the losses caused by the intifadah.

'Arafat Reportedly Seeks Meeting on Intifadah

PM2707092789 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 25 Jul 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "PLO Makes Moves To Hold Emergency Arab Foreign Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] Cairo, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Bureau—Informed Palestinian sources in Cairo have confirmed that the PLO is currently conducting extensive contacts with numerous Arab states to urge the convening of an emergency Arab foreign ministers' meeting to discuss recent developments in the Israeli position, escalating repressive measures against the Palestinian intifadah [uprising], and Israeli statements calling for the assassination of the Palestinian president and the Palestinian leaderships.

The sources said that Yasir 'Arafat, president of the Palestinian state, made contacts with and sent messages to a number of the leaders of the Arab states including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Morocco, and Algeria regarding the Israeli position and the pressures currently being exerted on the U.S. Administration with a view to imposing restrictions on the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue.

The sources added that Israel had recently submitted a request to the U.S. Administration, urging it to put pressure on the PLO to stop the intifadah actions inside the occupied territory and not to resume the rounds of the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue until the PLO responds and issues clear instructions to the Palestinian leaderships loyal to it inside the occupied territories to stop the intifadah.

The sources emphasized that the Israeli position is agreed by the ruling Likud-Labor coalition and that the Israeli plan includes the need to urge the Jewish lobby in Congress to introduce a bill imposing restrictions on U.S. contacts with the PLO and Palestinian leaderships.

The sources expect the U.S. Administration to freeze U.S.-Palestinian contacts temporarily at this stage until an agreement is reached with Israel and Jewish lobby leaders in Congress—for example, on withdrawing the bill but undertaking not to raise the level of the dialogue between the two sides or hold any meetings between U.S. officials and PLO Executive Committee leaders, and confining the dialogue to the U.S. ambassador in Tunis and the PLO representative there.

Habash on U.S. Dialogue, PFLP-Fatah Meetings

JN2607152489 Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 25 Jul 89 pp 1, 13

[By Fathi al-Barqawi from Tunis]

[Text] Dr George Habash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], has rejected the principle of elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, saying that there is no democracy under occupation.

In an exclusive statement to AL-BAYAN, Habash, who has been in Tunis for several days, added that the PLO cannot be deceived by the U.S. maneuvers and that the United States must know that its interests in the region will indeed be threatened if it does not respond to the Palestinian people's national and political rights alike.

The Palestinian leader explained that the PFLP welcomed contacts and dialogue with the U.S. Administration given the fact that this is one of the important achievements of the popular intifadah [uprising]. However, he added, the United States is currently trying to derail the objectives of the dialogue. He said this explains the current impasse in the dialogue between the two sides.

However, Habash believes that the Palestinian side should not halt the contacts so long as it is not deceived by U.S. maneuvers. He said the Palestinians should not deviate from the objectives of what he called the common Palestinian denominators.

On the meetings held in Tunis between a Fatah delegation under Yasir 'Arafat and a PFLP delegation under George Habash, the PFLP secretary general said that views were exchanged. He added that he demanded action to entrench the intifadah and to consider all possible means to escalate it in order to inflict further economic and military human losses among the ranks of the Zionist enemy.

Habash stated that points of disagreement emerged between the two Palestinian factions, but indicated that the points of agreement are broader and more comprehensive.

Mahmud 'Abbas on Armed Struggle, Arab Groupings

JN2607161489 Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 25 Jul 89 pp 1, 13

[Unattributed report from Tunis]

[Excerpt] PLO Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas, also known as Abu-Mazin, has called on the three Arab groupings—the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Arab Cooperation Council, and the Arab Maghreb Union—to accept the PLO as an observer. He explained that the PLO Executive Committee has decided to make this request in view of Palestine's need for the support of these groupings which have significant weight in both Arab and international affairs.

In an interview with Arab journalists in Tunis, including the AL-BAYAN correspondent, Abu-Mazin said the Palestinian revolution has not dropped armed struggle from its calculations and that every people has the right to use armed struggle to obtain their rights as stipulated by the UN Charter. He added that the PLO has nothing more to offer than what it has already offered, although it has a political weapon in addition to the intifadah [uprising]. He said the support the PLO received was sometimes more, sometimes less, than expected. [passage omitted]

PLO's 'Abd-Rabbuh Rejects 'Bantustan' Plan

PM2707095189 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 25 Jul 89 p 3

[Interview with Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee and head of the Palestinian delegation in the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue, by Zaki Musa in Tunis; date not given]

[Text] [Musa] To what extent could one say that Shamir's attitude at the Likud conference came as a surprise to you, and what effect has it had on your peace moves?

['Abd-Rabbuh] The Likud decisions were significant only in one respect: They clarified in practical terms the aims implicit in the Israeli Government plan. We mentioned these aims in the reasons we gave for rejecting the plan, because the purpose of the plan is to undermine the intifadah [uprising], gain time, and divert world public opinion attention following the tide favoring the Palestinian peace initiative.

The Likud decisions confirmed what we have been saying and demonstrated that all the U.S. attempts to beautify the Israeli Government plan had no realistic foundation. It seems now that the plan in its new attire aims at making Shamir's original plan look like something we should cling to while seeking cancellation of the Likud amendments.

We reject the original plan anyway. In this connection we draw a distinction between Shamir's plan and the idea of elections. The PLO has not rejected elections in principle, but the political objective of such elections should be identified. Is the purpose to impose the autonomy formula and circumvent the PLO's sole representation of our people, or will elections be a part of a political process to establish the new Palestinian authority that would replace the Israeli occupation after withdrawal.

In other words, is the purpose of elections to set up a kind of "Bantustan," like an autonomous protectorate under the control of South Africa, or to have something modeled after Namibia?

We believe that there is no third formula. We are not against interim measures, but to prevent such measures becoming permanent solutions they must be linked to an agreement on a final solution, with a timetable culminating in implementation of the solution, that is full Israeli withdrawal from the territory of the state of Palestine and the Palestinian people's exercise of full authority there.

If the Americans are now proposing an idea linking the elections to negotiations on a final solution, that idea is nothing more than a formality because negatiations on a final solution could go on forever if the nature of the final solution and the safeguard for practical implementation of that solution are not defined.

Leaving the final solution ambiguous and without clarification would in practice turn temporary solutions into permanent solutions, and that is the aim of Shamir's plan: a so-called temporary solution based on autonomy under occupation, with unspecific negotiations, to arrive at the final situation made acceptable to all parties including Israel. It does not take much imagination or explanation to conclude that the aim is to give the occupation permanence and legitimacy under the cover of autonomy.

[Musa] How do you assess the U.S. reactions to this, now that they have adopted the elections idea?

['Abd-Rabbuh] We noticed, with interest, the statements made by James Baker after the Likud decisions. I am referring to the statements which spoke of the possibility of calling for an international conference. We hope that these statements were not made for tactical reasons or as a means of pressure for a return to the Israeli Government's original plan, to use it as a basis for discussion and dialogue. If that were the case, then the U.S. Administration would be closing the door in advance to the continuation of the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue.

[Musa] In a recent interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES, Yasir 'Arafat threatened to stop the dialogue if it did not lead to tangible results in the near future. Is there any particular deadline?

['Abd-Rabbuh] It is strange that the U.S. Administration should invent positive aspects for the Israeli Government's initiative which even those who came up with that initiative deny. Yet at the same time the U.S. Administration ignores the Palestinian peace initiative on the basis of which the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue was started. The Americans know that we are not prepared to limit our dialogue with them to the narrow circle they have chosen; namely, discussion of election measures and the improvement of conditions for such measures. Such measures, improved or otherwise, would not make any difference because what concerns the Palestinian people right now is not the availability of suitable conditions for elections under occupation but the availability of conditions that would ensure self-determination and the end of occupation.

As regards balloting, well, that is taking place every day on the streets of the West Bank, Gaza, and occupied Jerusalem in the form of support for the PLO. We would like to know why the Americans insist on naming figures from the occupied territory to begin a dialogue with the Israelis. It means prior exclusion of PLO representation and fulfillment of the permanent Israeli aim of undermining the unity of Palestinian representation, canceling the gains made with the recognition of the Palestinian state by over 100 states in the world, and, consequently, treating our people in the occupied state of Palestine as an ethnic minority within greater Israel with rights not exceeding autonomy.

Israel's permanent aim is to turn the Palestinian question from a regional and international question into a local issue.

[Musa] You have held three dialogue sessions with the Americans. What have you achieved so far?

['Abd-Rabbuh] First, it must be noted that the discussions which have taken place on all aspects of the conflict and the ideas exchanged are all tantamount to a de facto and practical acknowledgement by the U.S. Administration that the PLO is the party with the right to speak for the Palestinian people and express their aspirations. We should not forget that the dialogue originally started after the announcement of the Palestinian peace initiative and on the basis of the Stockholm agreement reached with the U.S. Administration through the Swedish Government.

Under that agreement the United States agreed to hold a dialogue with the PLO Executive Committee in its capacity as representative of the provisional government of the Palestinian state. That was part of the agreement which also included a commitment that the democratic state of Palestine, to quote the expression used by the Americans, would coexist peacefully with its neighbors including Israel. This shows the essential aspects and foundations on which the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue was based. In fact, one point in the agreement was a U.S. pledge to support the idea of an international conference. It must be said here at that point there was no identity of views as to the terms for holding such a conference and its jurisdiction, but we saw the U.S. acceptance that such a conference would be the framework for achieving a settlement as positive, tangible progress that provided the opportunity for subsequent discussion of the right conditions for holding the conference.

Therefore, to limit the discussion to the narrow circle of election measures on the basis of the Shamir plan objectives is contrary to the principles agreed on as a basis for the dialogue. That is why we say without hesitation that any maneuver to separate the dialogue from its real aims would prompt us to question the advantage of continuing that dialogue. We do not want a dialogue aimed at gaining time, diverting attention from the purpose of an essential settlement, and branching out into secondary labyrinths.

The dialogue was understood to be a part of the preparations for peace negotiations in the framework of an international conference—not instead of or as a way of preventing such a conference.

[Musa] In a previous dialogue session you submitted some questions to the U.S. delegation. What were these questions and what were U.S. Chief Delegate Robert Pelletreau's answers?

['Abd-Rabbuh] We are still getting multifaceted, ambiguous answers open to various interpretations. Our repeated question is: Why do the Americans not explain the concept of political rights for the Palestinian people as meaning the right of self-determination, as for all other peoples in the world? Another thing: When the Americans say that the formula for a final solution would be defined in the course of the negotiations, our reaction is that we do not know of any other negotiations in our contemporary world in which the parties involved have not known the aim. Even in the complex nuclear disarmament and other negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the aim is as clear as the title suggests, namely general disarmament, even though the process entails interim and phased measures and agreements. The same applies to the Palestinian situation. In other words, the aim of the negotiations should be withdrawal, self-determination, and peaceful coexistence among the region's states. Then practical steps and measures and details could be discussed.

[Musa] How important is the Soviet role, and also other roles such as the European and African roles, in giving fresh impetus to the peace process which is now deadlocked?

['Abd-Rabbuh] The Soviet and European positions are identical, and this is providing important impetus for pressure in the interest of an international conference and serious preparation for such a conference. What is really lacking is an effective Arab role in the current political process. We are anxiously following the implementation of the Casablanca summit resolutions and, particularly, the formation of the Arab committee for the support of the intifadah, which is supposed to include members from the Mashriq and the Maghreb. It was to be formed via consultation between King Hassan of Morocco and brother Abu-'Ammar ['Arafat], president of the state of Palestine. We hope that this matter will not be delayed any longer. We are also continuing our contacts with the Arab states concerned with a view to convening a meeting of the five Arab confrontation states, which are Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon, in accordance with the Casablanca summit resolutions.

PLO Representative Confirms Talks With Israel

AU2507143989 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 25 Jul 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "PLO Representation in Vienna Confirms Likud-PLO Talks"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Upon inquiry by this newspaper to the PLO representation in Vienna, Charge d'Affaires Da'ud Barakat confirmed that representatives of the PLO and the Likud bloc had met for a talk in Vienna. He said that on the part of the rightist Likud bloc, Elie Halali [name as published], central committee member and a former mayor of Dimona, Israel's nuclear research center, took part in the Vienna meeting. [passage omitted]

PLO Proposes New Committees With France

JN2707072589 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic
25 Jul 89 pp 1, 22

[Excerpts] Paris—Well-informed West European sources have revealed to AL-QABAS that the PLO has presented to France a very important proposal, which is the first of its kind. The proposal calls for forming three French-Palestinian working committees, in which representatives from the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt would take part, to discuss all matters related to settling the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine problem. [passage omitted]

AL-QABAS learned from well-informed West European sources that the PLO proposed to French officials the formation of three new working committees to be charged with studying and discussing all matters related to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine problem and that these committees should be formed as follows:
—First committee: a French-Palestinian-Soviet Committee.
—Second committee: a French-Palestinian-Saudi committee.
—Third committee: a French-Palestinian-Egyptian committee.

The sources explained that the proposal stipulates that these committees should be formed on the level of experts in Middle Eastern affairs and not on the level of political officers.

According to the proposal, these committees will meet regularly and as dictated by developments in the Middle East and the peace process to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Their main task will be to study and discuss different ideas, proposals, and alternatives relating to the manner in which the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine problem can be resolved peacefully. Following their meetings, these committees will present the results of their meetings to political officials in the member states. [passage omitted]

What was the reaction of France, the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt to this new proposal which calls for the formation of three working committees?

In this regard, the well-informed West European sources confirmed to AL-QABAS the following:
1. The French officials concerned in this issue have shown interest in this new proposal and preparedness to respond to, and accept it if supported by Soviet, Saudi, and Egyptian officials.
2. The Egyptian officials were the first to support the proposal. They informed the Palestinian side of their acceptance of the proposal and welcome of forming a French-Palestinian-Egyptian working committee.
3. The proposal was discussed a few days ago by a senior Palestinian official during his talks with Gennadiy Gerasimov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister [as published], in Tunis. Gerasimov showed interest in this proposal and welcomed it in principle. He also promised to give an official Soviet answer soon.
4. Until now, the proposal has not been discussed with Saudi officials. However, the subject will be discussed by a senior Palestinian official who will visit Saudi Arabia soon. [passage omitted]

PLO Arrests Assassination Attempt Suspects

NC2507200289 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic
1915 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Palestinian sources have disclosed that the PLO security authorities in 'Ayn al-Hulwah have arrested a number of men belonging to the Fatah Central Committee [as heard]. The arrested persons were behind the attempt to assassinate 'Isam Salim, known as 'Isam al-Lawh, the personal representative of PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

Algeria

President Bendjedid Meets Libya's Al-Muntasir

LD2507205689 Algiers Television Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Excerpts] At the Maghreb level, work continues and efforts are pursued in solidarity to give substance to the project of Maghreb unity. Today, at the Presidency of the Republic, President Chadli Bendjedid received 'Umar al-Muntasir, secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee. [passage omitted]

After the meeting, Al-Muntasir spoke about the encounter and the scope of his visit:

[Begin Al-Muntasir recording] As usual we discussed issues related to the programs of the higher executive committee, the General People's Committee of the Jamahiriyah, and the Council of Ministers of Algeria, as well as implementation of what has been agreed between Bendjedid and his brother, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. President Bendjedid was, as usual, the best adviser and guide to us. We hope to implement the directives of the two leaders and attain the level expected by the people in Libyan Arab-Algerian relations in the march toward Maghreb unity and all-Arab unity. [passage omitted] [end recording]

At its seventh session, the work of the Algerian-Libyan executive committee was crowned with the signing of three agreements concerning heavy industry, health and education, and training. Regarding companies and joint projects, the committee stressed the need to offer facilities, prepare suitable ground and find adequate solutions for setting up such companies. In the field of economic integration, it was agreed to set up a joint technical working group to lay down an overall picture of economic integration. Concerning new projects, the committee decided to ask competent quarters to form a working group to study various domains where integrated projects could be realized. [passage omitted]

'Umar al-Muntasir, secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee, left Algiers for home today at the end of his working visit. He said that his visit would serve the interests of the two countries, and that it was agreed to implement agreements reached.

'Press Release' on Talks

LD2607100689 Tripoli JANA in English 0814 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Algiers, Nasser [July] 26, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—A press release was issued in Algiers yesterday at the end of the meetings of the 7th. sessions of the joint executive committee between Great Jamahiriyah and Algeria which included a review of all the sessions held in Algiers to follow-up the implementation of the will of the Arab people in both sisterly country to establish unity integration and merge the two countries.

The press release asserted the need to present facilities and to ease the circumstances for firms and joint projects to complete the goals they were established for. The formation of a technical work group assigned with drafting a comprehensive vision for the process of economic integration. Assigning the concerned offices to work towards implementing what was included in the signed protocol between both sisterly countries.

It also contained the formation of a work team from specialists to study the issuing of the unified I.D. cards and working by them before the end of this year.

It also asserted that the destiny of bilateral meetings amongst secretaries and ministers in both sisterly countries are bound to give a great boost to completing projects and establishing firms.

The statement noticed the relief felt by the joint executive committee towards the progress in carrying out a number of joint unity projects between the two countries. It was decided that the meetings of the 8th. session of the executive joint committee between both sisterly countries be held in Great Jamahiriyah.

Egypt

President Mubarak Returns From Addis Ababa

NC2707045089 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 2230 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpt] President Muhammad Husni Mubarak has returned home from Addis Ababa at the conclusion of the OAU summit conference, which he chaired in his capacity as chairman of the OAU's 25th session. [passage omitted]

Ministers Leave for Baghdad ACC Meeting

NC2707045789 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2259 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Cairo, 26 Jul (MENA)—Eng Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahab, minister of industry; Dr Jalal Abu-al-Dhahab, minister of supply and internal trade; and Dr Yusri Mustafa, minister of economy and external trade, left Cairo for Baghdad this evening.

There they will attend meetings of the ministers of trade, industry, and economy of the Arab Cooperation Council [ACC], which will begin on Thursday [27 July] and last for 3 days. [passage omitted]

MENA on 2d Phase of Suez Canal Development

NC2707045089 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2025 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Ismailia, 26 Jul (MENA)—This afternoon, Eng Muhammad 'Izzat 'Adil, head of the Suez Canal Authority, signed a contract with the Netherlands Nedco firm of consultants and the Arab Dar al-Handasah firm, which together form an engineering consortium, to study the economic feasibility of the second phase of the project of developing the Suez Canal.

The purpose of the second phase is to deepen and widen the canal so as to facilitate the passage of supertankers. The study will take 18 months and cost about $1 million. This sum is being provided by the Arab Development Fund as a nonrefundable grant.

Eng 'Adil stated that this consortium was chosen out of 13 international groups. He added that once this phase has been proven feasible, the project will be implemented within 5 years at a cost of $750 million.

Alexandria-Banghazi Flights To Begin 2 Aug

NC2707044589 Cairo MENA in English 1330 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Alexandria, July 26 (MENA)—Egyptair will operate a weekly flight each Wednesday from Alexandria to Banghazi, Libya and vice versa as of August 2nd.

The new flight will facilitate air transport between both countries, an official source at al-Nuzhah Airport said.

Libya

South Korean Plane Crash Lands in Tripoli

LD2707073389 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 0718 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Tripoli, 27 Jul (JANA)—A South Korean plane crashed this morning at 0730 [0530 GMT] before landing landing at Tripoli International Airport. The plane was on a scheduled flight from Seoul to Tripoli.

The plane, which is a DC-10, was carrying 182 passengers, most of them Koreans.

A JANA correspondent has stated that so far, about 80 to 100 persons appear to have survived. Rescue operations and damage control measures are still continuing.

A JANA correspondent reports that the plane crashed at Juwayif, near one of the runways at the airport, after having hit two houses near the airport in addition to a number of cars that were on the road. Four people who were inside the houses were killed.

The correspondent who was present during this tragic accident stated that the pilot has survived, and that rescue and search operations are still continuing.

JANA's correspondent at Tripoli International Airport said that the airliner's pilot lost contact with the airport's traffic control at 0715 [0515 GMT]. After that the airliner was seen losing altitude.

The correspondent reported that the aircraft, which crashed this morning, was carrying 182 passengers in addition to its crew, which consisted of 18 persons.

The JANA correspondent at Tripoli International Airport reports that fire brigades and ambulance teams made extensive efforts to save the passengers who were on board the South Korean plane number 803 arriving from Seoul, which crashed at Tripoli International Airport this morning.

These teams gave emergency services to the injured and transported them to a number of hospitals in Tripoli, which have been fully mobilized to give treatment to the injured.

Sources from the civil aviation body have indicated that the cause of the plane crash could be related to two things: either a fault occurred in some equipment in the plane, or there was an error of judgment by the plane's captain.

The sources added that a technical commission has been set up by the General People's Committee for Transportation, including a number of experts and specialists from the Civil Aviation General Administration and the Administration of Air Navigation to carry out the necessary investigations in this horrendous accident and ascertain its causes.

Sources from the Civil Aviation Administration in the Great Jamahiriyah said that the Libyan Arab air traffic control took the necessary measures and provided the internationally required services from the moment the plane entered Libyan Arab air space. The air facilities at Tripoli International Airport were excellent.

The sophisticated radar control equipment available at Tripoli International Airport followed the plane as soon as it entered our air space. Weather conditions were characterized by some clouds, and visibility was approximately 800 feet. All information was given to the captain of the plane continuously, including the visibility and weather conditions. The decision to land or not to land, as is the international norm, depended on the aircraft captain alone.

The sources indicated that a Soviet airliner arrived at the airport 1 hour before the Korean plane, that the Soviet airliner was given the aforementioned information, and that the plane's captain decided to go to an alternate airport in Malta.

Civil aviation sources stated that there are seven Libyans and three Japanese among the passengers of the Korean airliner, and the rest of the passengers were South Koreans. There were 181 passengers in addition to the 18-member crew and one aircraft control engineer.

The sources added that 100 passengers have been rescued so far, and are being treated and examined in a number of hospitals, which have been fully mobilized to provide them with the necessary treatment.

Mauritania

Minister Reserves Judgment on Amnesty Charges

AB2507213089 Paris AFP in English 1646 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Addis Ababa, July 25 (AFP)—Mauritanian Foreign Minister Cheikh Sid'Ahmed Ould Baba said here Tuesday [27 July] that his government reserved judgement on allegations by Amnesty International on human rights violations in the West African country.

The London-based human rights watchdog said in a report published early Tuesday that Mauritanian police were responsible for ill-treatment of black Senegalese residents of the predominantly Arab state.

"If this turns out to be true, we will take measures in liaison with Amnesty International and hold an investigation," Cheikh Ould Baba, who is attending the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit here, told AFP.

The alleged human rights abuses occurred following inter-communal violence in April in which hundreds of people were killed both in Mauritania and Senegal, and thus creating hundreds of thousands of refugees.

Cheikh Ould Baba said his government was pleased with a resolution the summit is to receive from the OAU Council of Ministers which prepared its agenda last week.

The resolution calls for setting up a committee of inquiry to work with OAU Chairman Husni Mubarak to find a solution to the conflict between Mauritania and Senegal.

Senegal, which has revived a border conflict with Mauritania, is calling for an international inquiry.

Letter on Conflict With Senegal Addressed to UN

AB2607113889 Paris AFP in French 1457 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Nouakchott, 25 Jul (AFP)—Mauritania today addressed a letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council concerning the conflict between that country and Senegal, it was learned from official sources today in Nouakchott. In a communique, the Mauritanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs explained that this letter is in response to a similar one sent last week to the Security Council by the Senegalese Armed Forces minister, Mr Medoune Fall, acting for the foreign affairs minister.

In the letter, according to informed sources in New York, Dakar primarily asked the Security Council to find the "right procedure" for ending the banishment of black Mauritanians and their expulsion from Senegal. According to the Mauritanian communique, the fact that the Senegalese letter was written by the Armed Forces minister demonstrates the "belligerent" intentions of Senegal. Finally, in the communique, Mauritania wondered why the Senegalese letter stated that Mauritania's attitude constituted a "serious threat" to peace. Nouakchott has blamed the "deadlock" in negotiations on Senegal.

Morocco

Libya's Al-Qu'ud Calls For Maghreb 'Green Belt'

LD2607203189 Rabat MAP in English 1231 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Rabat, July 26 (MAP)—Secretary of the Libyan Popular Committee in Charge of Agriculture 'Abd-al-Majid al-Qu'ud proposed here Tuesday the creation in the Maghreb of a "green belt" to struggle against desert encroachment.

The Libyan official, currently on a visit to Morocco, made the proposal during a meeting with his Moroccan peer Othman Demnati devoted to discussing agricultural cooperation between the two countries.

Al-Qu'ud expressed hope to see this cooperation further consolidated through the carrying out of joint projects, particularly in the context of the exploitation of the projected artificial river in Libya, dam construction, agricultural machinery importation and maintenance, struggle against natural hazards, and fertilizer production with the participation of the public and private sectors.

The Libyan official also held separate meetings with the Prime Minister Azeddine Laraki and with Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Charge of UMA Affairs (Maghreb Arab Union) Driss Alaoui Elmodaghri.

During the meetings, the Libyan official stressed the need to upgrade bilateral cooperation in the agricultural area to enable Libya, he said, "exploit the water resources of the south and encourage farmers to settle in these areas." He expressed hope that Morocco would play a key role in the south exploitation project owing to its expertise in matters of agricultural exploitation techniques, irrigation and greenhouse farming.

Al-Qu'ud said he came to Morocco to request help and assistance to the Libyan project meant to promote the southern zone and ensure the country's food self-sufficiency.

Sudan

RCC Member Outlines Regime's Aims

PM2607141589 Jeddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 19 Jul 89 p 12

[Interview with Brigadier General 'Uthman Ahmad Hasan, member of the Revolution Command Council and Political Committee chairman, by 'Abdallah 'Abbas; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [AL-MADINAH] The steps taken by the revolution for national salvation so far are good steps, undoubtedly satisfactory to everyone, but one fears that they might just be temporary measures that reflect the revolution's spirit at this stage and might eventually fade away, allowing the old situation to return.

[Hasan] Naturally, everything begins with great enthusiasm, with relative calm returning gradually, but here in Sudan we are faced with many issues that warrant no relaxation and we are determined to resolve them. We have the problem of corruption, the war in the south, and the economic crisis. These are major issues, and resolving them requires seriousness. [passage omitted]

[AL-MADINAH] The economic crisis is, to a large extent, linked to the continuation of the war in the south. That is why ending that war is a top priority. How will the revolution's command reconcile this urgent need with the deliberate coolness of the rebellion leadership in responding to all attempts to promote stability in the south and put an end to its people's suffering?

[Hasan] We are fully convinced that it is futile to resolve any conflict by force, because any victory achieved by force of arms would be a limited victory and would carry with it the possibility of renewed war. If Garang had the power to score some victories in the past, these victories are, without doubt, temporary.

We should take into consideration the fact that the issue of the south is not confined to Garang because there are other parties in the south with their own political views. We do not seek a solution with Garang to the exclusion of these forces. The solution must reconcile the views of all forces in the south.

[AL-MADINAH] Would a military solution be a possibility if the rebel leadership continued to refuse the necessary response to peace efforts?

[Hasan] We seek peace based on rights and duties. We do not favor the military option, but that does not mean that we would surrender if the movement [Sudan People's Liberation Movement] went too far in its failure to cooperate with us. There are alternatives to everything. We reaffirm that we want a peace that reconciles the views of the rebellion movement with the views of the southern political forces. Sudan's interests are the basis of everything. [passage omitted]

[AL-MADINAH] Some people believe that the release of the known currency dealers was illogical, or at least untimely, particularly as the revolution is now trying to check black market currency dealings. What is your view?

[Hasan] We have a different opinion. The currency dealers were arrested before the revolution, when there was no deterrent law against currency trade. So it would have been illogical to use the law against them retroactively. We released them to give them a chance to stop dealing in currency and to coexist with their brothers, serve Sudan's interests, and respect the law. If they resume currency trading, we will not hesitate to use the maximum penalty against them, and that is the death penalty. [passage omitted]

[AL-MADINAH] What about trial of politicians? To what extent will you accord them fair trials that would convict the guilty and acquit the innocent, regardless of name or political affiliation?

[Hasan] We will not bring anyone to trial for political reasons. The trials will basically be for violations and crimes committed. People who have committed crimes will be the ones to face trial.

[AL-MADINAH] Could one say that the revolution has completely eliminated all pockets of opposition and every possibility of another coup attempt?

[Hasan] I do not think so, because the revolution's determination to fight corruption and those behind it is bound to meet with some opposition. But we are certain that, with the people's support, the revolution will be able to strike at all kinds of opposition, God willing.

[AL-MADINAH] Will the current security organ, in its local and national sections, remain as it is, or is there a revolutionary concept of an organ capable of offering more security guarantees for Sudan in the future?

[Hasan] The current organs will not be changed but there will be a purge of corrupt and suspect elements. The present structures will not be dissolved as in the past, when security organs were disbanded.

[AL-MADINAH] Some people are of the opinion that the revolution is not getting a good measure of support and sympathy from the Western states. How do you explain that?

[Hasan] I do not believe that that is the attitude of all the West toward us. The United States is very understanding and what it has said is satisfactory to us, at least for the time being. As regards the other states, perhaps they need more time to get to know the revolution's aims before making their views known. [passage omitted]

[AL-MADINAH] There have been numerous shocks and difficult situations in relations with the Soviet Union since the July events in the early seventies. The revolution's command has expressed a desire to strengthen and develop these relations. To what extent could Sudan establish balanced relations with East and West without undermining its own interests?

[Hasan] There can be no doubt that serving Sudan's interests is the basis of all our foreign relations. At present there is openness between East and West, and establishing ties with one does not mean antagonizing the other. We as a state have our own special circumstances, and we seek what is in our interest without alignment with either side. [passage omitted]

[AL-MADINAH] What about Sudan's relations with Ethiopia and the new leadership's view of the Eritrean problem?

[Hasan] A committee has been formed to study all aspects of the Eritrean problem before we can express an opinion. What we want to emphasize is that we in Sudan would support any efforts to establish peace between the two sides and are prepared to contribute to such efforts. [passage omitted]

Further on 1-Month Cease-Fire Extension

EA2607165589 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1930 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] In a speech to the OAU summit in Addis Ababa this morning the chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, announced a 1-month extension of both the Sudanese Government's unilateral cease-fire in the south and its general amnesty for those who took up arms for political reasons. Lt Gen 'Umar gave an assurances that relief operations in the south would continue. He urged those who have taken up arms to negotiate.

He reaffirmed Sudan's support for the international community's efforts to eradicate racial segregation in South Africa and to bring independence to Namibia. He pointed out that Sudan is now contributing to the UN personnel stationed in Namibia. He called for greater Afro-Arab cooperation. He said that the economic crisis facing African peoples is now threatening their very existence. He stressed the need to halt the economic deterioration so that we can escape the vicious cycle imposed on us.

Lt Gen 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir said: We look forward to an active and effective dialogue between northern and southern states as that is the ideal framework for overcoming our crisis.

PDRY

Citizens Exempted From Saudi Immigration Rules

EA2507104289 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has confirmed that the provisions contained in the decree of the Council of Ministers, issued as a royal edict, which regard the rules applying to foreigners resident in Saudi Arabia shall not apply to citizens of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] present in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This was specified in a statement given by a responsible source in the Saudi Interior Ministry to the SAUDI PRESS AGENCY today.

United Arab Emirates

Shaykh Zayid Interviewed on Inter-Arab Cooperation

PM2007141089 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 21 Jul 89 pp 22-23

[Interview with Shaykh Zayid Ibn-Sultan Al Nuhayyan, president of the United Arab Emirates, by Milhim Karam; date, place not given]

[Text] AL-HAWADITH: Last October you appealed to the Arab states not just to adopt a spectator attitude toward the Lebanese crisis, which constitutes a loss for the Arab states. You also called for immediate action before it is too late to return the Lebanese question to the Arab League. Now that the implementation of your initiative has begun, are you satisfied that it is proceeding in the right direction?

Shaykh Zayid: Yes, we are satisfied with the implementation of our initiative to secure a solution to the Lebanese crisis. What satisfies us most is the continuation of efforts to secure a solution calmly to ensure success. What has afflicted Lebanon is similar to the diseases and ailments that afflicts the body: The sick need treatment and care from an experienced and conscientious doctor.

Lebanon's illness is a serious one, but we are now more optimistic than ever about a cure, especially as the tripartite committee was entrusted with a very important responsibility.

I urge all Lebanese parties to play their role to extricate themselves from their predicament, to help the committee for the sake of their country's and their prosperity, not to fear any critics, not to be lured by those who lie in wait, to be alert, and to fully believe that the committee's leaders are both serious and sincere.

I am certain that Lebanon will be cured and that this illness and this cloud will be dispelled.

I affirm that the treatment will remain unhurried to some extent out of respect for our Lebanese brothers, but if it exceeds its time and other limits the Arab nations will take a different position.

AL-HAWADITH: For many years you have made solidarity and mutual cooperation among the Arab leaders a top priority. Now, following the extraordinary Casablanca summit, which you described as the summit of reconciliation and frankness, do you believe that the Arab position is better and that a true Arab solidarity can be established?

Shaykh Zayid: I believe that what has happened recently regarding uniting the Arab leaders and eliminating their differences is a great thing. The Arab position now is better than before. States are like people: They must question themselves about what they have lost in the past in order to avoid further losses, make a profit, and compensate for past losses. The Arab nation lost a great deal and missed many opportunities of development and progress. It is our pressing duty that every Arab—whether close to or far away from his brothers—work for a better position.

Praise God, I sensed that tendency during my contacts with all my brothers, the leaders. I also sensed their eagerness to bring views closer, to unite ranks, and to ignore differences. We have actually begun serious steps in cooperation, consistency, and mutual tolerance, and this will, God willing, compensate us for much of what we have lost.

Be that as it may, even if the dispute between Iraq and Syria is deep and has its justifications, tolerance between brothers is required in the interests of the Arab nation as a whole. This is so because its interests are above any other considerations.

AL-HAWADITH: What do you expect from the U.S. Administration with regard to the Palestinian problem, and how do you see the future of that problem?

Shaykh Zayid: I believe the time has come for the United States to comprehend the situation in the Middle East, understand its duties, and shoulder its responsibilities. What we expect from the U.S. Administration is what someone expects from a friend, which is not the impossible.

As for the future of the Palestinian problem, I believe that the Palestinian people's rights will most definitely be regained, which is something that the Arab world as a whole wants and is seeking to achieve. The hope is strong and guaranteed, and we are about to attain the truth and the aspirations of the Palestinian people and the entire Arab nation. The greedy always want everything for themselves, but when they wake up and find themselves confronted by the possessors of rights resolutely demanding their rights, they will question themsleves. Then they will have to either risk and lose everything or restore the rights to their owners.

AL-HAWADITH: In the major news conference you held in Abu Dhabi on the eve of the concluding session of the first Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] summit in May 1981, you urged the establishment of similar councils in the [Arab] East and the Maghreb. Now that this has been achieved, do you still see the groupings as supporting forces for the Arab League, as you said at the time, or will they weaken the League, as some allege?

Shaykh Zayid: I do not agree with the claim that the existence of Arab cooperation councils will weaken the Arab League and its role. The league was established in the first place to act as a link among the Arab states, which were divided in their views and positions, since each of the 22 states held different views. But today there are three groupings, each of which has one view and one position—which makes understanding among them easier. The existence of the three groupings was behind the Casablanca summit's success, because obviously understanding between three opinions is better than understanding among 22 opinions.

We hope to achieve all the good from the groupings because, as you know, unity is strength and division is weakness. This is why I support these groupings and believe in their benefit for the Arab nation and their influence in their relations with other international groupings because I believe that separate opinions are harmful and agreed opinions are better. This is my belief, but God alone knows what will happen.

AL-HAWADITH: How do you see the future of Arab-Iranian relations after Khomeyni's demise, and what role can the GCC states, including the United Arab Emirates [UAE], play in that regard? Is there any possibility of these relations being normalized?

Shaykh Zayid: First, I say that the UAE, the Arab Gulf states, and Iran are not strangers to each other. We have been neighbors since history began, and we have been friends throughout the ages and under all circumstances. Relations among neighbors always develop for the better in everyone's interests. And you always feel optimistic about good from your friends and neighbors and pay them very close attention. And just as one neighbor expects good from his neighbor, so his neighbor does the same. And if good deeds are exchanged, success will prevail, rapprochement will increase, and happiness and cooperation will grow between them.

As for the normalization of relations with Iran, that depends on each state. Such cooperation relations will be maintained within the framework of the GCC and the Arab world as a whole.

AL-HAWADITH: On the occasion of your present visit to Britain, what are you urging it to do regarding the Palestinian problem and the Lebanese crisis?

Shaykh Zayid: What we want from Britain is what someone wants from a friend. Britain's relations with the Arab nation are old and historic. This is why our Arab world blames Britain more than others, because it knows the Arab world better than others.

AL-HAWADITH: What is the impact of your visit to Britian on Arab-European relations, especially in view of the coming establishment of European unity in 1992?

Shaykh Zayid: Arab-European relations still stand. They are cordial and the more they develop and strengthen, the more they bring good results, probably for both sides, especially if they are based on mutual respect and constructive joint cooperation on strong foundations.

AL-HAWADITH: Now that you have established diplomatic relations with China and the Soviet Union, to what extent are you strengthening your relations, especially with the Soviet Union?

Shaykh Zayid: In fact strengthening relations between the UAE and the Soviet Union or any other states depends on the common and mutual desire of the states concerned. The development and growth of these relations depend on mutual respect and common interests. It can be achieved through experience and negotiations. The more these relations develop, the stronger cooperation will grow.

AL-HAWADITH: Frankly, are you satisfied with the unity march politically, economically, and socially?

Shaykh Zayid: I am satisfied with the UAE's unity experiment and hope that Almighty God will continue to back the union and that it will continue to develop positively, grow, and advance. I also hope that the UAE people will enjoy happiness. That is our objective. Our aim is to build the human being in the UAE, provide care for him, look after him, and secure a dignified life for him.

AL-HAWADITH: What is your position on the recent OPEC agreement, especially as you demanded a larger quota?

Shaykh Zayid: As you know, the UAE had a fair quota in the past. When oil prices fell we were asked to reduce our quota. We agreed to it out of a concern for OPEC's unity and solidarity.

Now that oil prices and the demand for OPEC's oil have increased, we have demanded our fair quota, which all the OPEC states know and which is recorded in their documents. But the OPEC member states prefer not to rush matters and to achieve the increase gradually so that there will be no surplus in the market, since that would have a negative impact on prices. Generally, we appreciate the steps taken by OPEC following the consultations conducted among the member states. This is so because we are following the same course and we must respond to our brothers and friends so that no one will lose.

Yemen Arab Republic

'Mosad Agents' Attack Yemeni Airlines Office

JN2607112089 Abu Dhabi Domestic Service in Arabic 0930 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] It was announced in Sanaa today that the Yemeni Airlines office in Istanbul had been attacked by Mosad agents. SABA' said that Mosad agents had attacked the director of the office and damaged furniture while conducting a search. SABA' said that the aggression took place last Saturday evening, when employees of the office were preparing for the weekly Yemeni Airlines flight from Istanbul to Sanaa.

SABA' also said that the Yemen Arab Republic expressed to the Turkish Embassy in Sanaa its condemnation of this criminal action, which discloses to the world the nature of the Zionist enemy and its various organs. It also asked the Turkish authoritries to provide the necessary protection for the Yemeni Consulate employees, the Yemeni Airlines office and citizens in Turkey from any aggression by the Zionist entity and its agents.

Cabinet Condemns Attack

JN2607134689 Sanaa Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Concluding the meeting, the cabinet reviewed the report on the Zionist attack carried out by Mosad—Israeli intelligence—agents working at the Israeli El-Al [airline] Company who stormed the Yemeni Airlines company offices in Istanbul, attacked the head of the office, searched it, and destroyed its contents.

The cabinet stated that the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] expresses its strong rejection of this criminal act, which proves before the whole world the aggressive nature of the Zionist enemy and its various elements. The government has notified the Turkish authorities that this act, apart from being a violation of the immunity of the Yemeni Airlines offices in Istanbul, also constitutes a blatant aggression against Turkish sovereignty.

The YAR has asked the Turkish authorities after this attack to provide the necessary protection for the Yemeni Consulate, the Yemeni Airlines offices, and YAR citizens residing in Turkey from any aggressive acts that they might be exposed to by the Zionist entity or its agents.

Foreign Minister Returns From Tour

JN2207152189 Sanaa Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Brother Dr 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani, deputy prime minister, foreign minister, and Standing Committee member, returned to Sanaa from Cairo today following visits to Cairo, Baghdad, and Amman to participate in the recent Iraqi revolution anniversary celebrations in Baghdad and in the conference of the foreign ministers of the Arab Cooperation Council member states in Amman. [passage omitted]

Sudanese Interior Minister's Interview Cited

NC2607201689 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1535 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Sanaa, 26 Jul (MENA)—Staff Brigadier General Faysal Abu-Salih, a member of the Sudanese Revolution Command Council [RCC] and minister of the interior, has urged the rebel movement in southern Sudan to expedite agreement on a peaceful settlement of the situation there and to begin negotiations with the new Sudanese leadership.

He stated that the RCC has not yet received a reply to its message to Colonel John Garang on an unconditional start to negotiations in order to establish peace in a unified Sudan.

In a statement to a MENA correspondent in Sanaa, before leaving the Yemeni capital today, Abu-Salih said that Ethiopia has shown a marked response to the Sudanese leadership's wish to solve the problem of the south in a peaceful manner. He disclosed that Ethiopia has promised to play a role in preparing for negotiations. He noted that Sudan too can play a role in bringing views closer in order to deal with the problem of the Ethiopian rebels and the Eritrean issue.

The Sudanese official also stated that Col Garang had recently summoned the southern military leaders from the operations areas, as well as his delegates in London, Bonn, and Nairobi, to discuss and answer the RCC message. He asserted that the Sudanese revolution gives priority to solving the problem of the south, and stated that indeed the situation in the south was one of the reasons for the 30 June revolution. He pointed out that the new leadership is at the same time eager that peace be established in the south from a position of strength, so that rebellion will not recur.

Replying to a question on the Sudanese leadership's stand, now that the RCC's unilaterally declared ceasefire is nearing its end without a positive response having been received from the rebel movement, he said the RCC will meet soon to discuss this matter and make an apropriate decision.

Answering a question on the future of democracy in Sudan, he emphasized that the Sudanese Army is not a trustee for the country. It will, however, undertake to establish the necessary political institutions alone. The Army will never think of handing over power to civilians again, he stated. He said the RCC will ensure a certain degree of democracy at the right time in a manner that will achieve (?strength), unity, and security for Sudan. He pointed out that the RCC is considering the establishment of a controlled [muwajjah] democratic system commensurate with the revolution's tendencies and acceptable to all sectors of society.

Commenting on the fate of the accords and treaties concluded between Sudan and some of its neighbors, the Sudanese official noted that, as a new regime, the salvation revolution is not bound by any of these agreements except those which are consistent with the revolution's tendencies and Sudan's higher interests.

On the likelihood of lifting the state of emergency in Sudan, Abu-Salih said the cancellation of the emergency situation is contingent upon the return of complete calm to the Sudanese arena. In this regard, he pointed out that the RCC has every reason to believe that some of the Sudanese parties are hiding quantities of weapons, with which they supplied their militias. He said the RCC is conducting scrupulous investigations into this matter.

He disclosed that the number of political detainees in political prisons does not exceed 48, after the recent release of 44 defendants for lack of sufficient evidence. He pointed out that the detainees will be brought before military courts as soon as the investigating committees complete their interrogations.

In conclusion, the Sudanese official answered a question on the future of Sudan's press. He asserted that the RCC is now considering a new law on the press and publications which will open the way for the publication of national newspapers free from partisanship. He said that the revolution the role of the press but it will work to guide the press in the fulfillment of its mission. [sentence as received]

Concludes Visit 26 Jul

JN2607140289 Sanaa Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Brigadier General Faysal 'Ali Abu-Salih, member of the Sudanese Revolution Command Council for National Salvation and interior minister, left Sanaa today after a short visit to our country during which he delivered a message to Brother Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the Republic, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and secretary general of the General People's Congress, from his brother Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir, chairman of the Revolution Command Council for National Salvation.

In a statement to the SABA' news agency upon departure, the Sudanese official said: We met President Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and heard his thoughtful and valuable opinions which spring from his loyalty, honesty, and his thorough knowledge of the situation in Sudan. We will be guided by the opinions proposed by the brother president in many of our future steps.

He added that he considers his visit an introduction to future visits to reach an understanding in the interests of the two countries. He pointed out that Sudan will benefit from the development projects implemented in our country. He praised the achievements of our country in the field of agriculture, which have increased production and added more agricultural land in the search for self-sufficiency. He said: This will be a motive and incentive for us to move ahead, especially as we have great agricultural resources. Brig Gen Faysal 'Ali Abu-Salih concluded his statement by saying that during his short visit to our country, he met with members of the Sudanese community and got to know his brothers. He said that they are not facing any problems and that they are being welcomed very warmly by officials in the YAR.

He was seen off by brothers Dr Ahmad Muhammad al-Asbahi, member of the Consultative Council and secretary of the Standing Committee; Dr 'Abdallah Husayn Barakat, interior minister and member of the Standing Committee; a representative of the Presidency's Protocol Department; a number of officials; and Sudanese Ambassador in Sanaa Sayyid Ahmad al-Hardalu.

Spokesman Denounces Raid on YAR Airline Office

JN2707102589 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0725 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Baghdad, 27 Jul (INA)—[Passage omitted] A Foreign Ministry spokesman has stated the following: A criminal group of the Zionist intelligence—Mosad—agents on Saturday evening stormed the Yemeni airlines office in Istanbul and attacked its director. This terrorist act is a link in the chain of attacks perpetrated by the Zionist authorities against the Arab nation. It is also part of the Zionist entity's organized official terrorism and continuous violations of the international law.

While strongly denouncing the Zionist crime, Iraq expresses its full fraternal solidarity with the Yeman Arab Republic, the brother fellow member of the Arab Cooperation Council. It calls for punishing the perpetrators of the crime—Mosad agents—and preventing the recurrence of their terrorist attacks against Arab citizens and interests.

Kurdistan Democratic Party Condemns Vienna Murders

AU2107080389 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 21 Jul 89 p 1

[APA report: "Kurds Distance Themselves From Qasemlu"]

[Text] The "Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdestan/Revolutionary Command," which rejects any compromise with the current Iranian regime, harshly condemned the "terrorist attack" on Kurdish leader 'Abdol Rahman Qasemlu in Vienna and called on the Austrian Government to quickly clear up the "criminal act."

In a press release on Wednesday [19 July] the party's Politburo stated that the attack on Qasemlu, which was "undoubtedly ordered by Tehran," was the "inevitable consequence" of Qasemlu's attempts to come to an arrangement with the "treacherous mullahs." These had "only conducted fake negotiations" with the Kurdish politician and lured him into a trap.

Kurdistan Party Spokesman on Qasemlu Assassination

JN2007144489 Baghdad INA in English 1415 GMT 20 Jul 89

[Text] Paris, July 20, INA—The Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party accused the Iranian [regime] of assassination its secretary general 'Abdolrahman Qasemlu and two of his aides in Vienna last Thurday [13 July].

Speaking at a press conference here last night, a party spokesman stressed that information available with the party and results of preliminary investigations carried out by Austrian police confirmed involvement of the Iranian regime in this crime. The spokesman said that Austrian authorities issued an order for arresting two Iranian diplomats on charges of taking part in the assassination operation.

The spokesman further pointed out that Austrian police have detailed information on the movement of these two diplomats and their role in the operation. He named the diplomats as Mansur Bozorgian and Mostafa Agevadi. He said that Austrian authorities have not disclosed the identity of the two diplomats due to the pressures excercised on them as regard the assassination operation.

The spokesman further added that the meeting that took place between Qasemlu and Iranian negotiators without presence of a third party was in response to a request from the Iranian authorities.

The spokesman said that a funeral of Qasemlu and 'Abdallah Qadir, member of the Party Central Committee who was killed in the operation will take place in Paris later today.

UN Delegate Cited on Negotiations With Iran

JN2607171289 Baghdad INA in English 1620 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] United Nations, July 16, INA—Iraqi ambassador to the United Nations 'Ismat Kittani held a press conference last night at the U.N. Correspondents Association which had invited him to their club for farewell coffee and refreshments.

Mr. Kittani, who is retiring from the foreign service, expressed sadness at leaving the United Nations after being connected with it in one way or another, including a term as president of the General Assembly, for 32 years. But he said that U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar had requested him to serve as a consultant on U.N. administrative and financial affairs, [which] would bring him to the United Nations from time to time.

In answer to questions on progress in the Iraq-Iran talks, the Iraqi ambassador said there has been no breakthrough. But he said that the secretary general was on top of the situation and was continuing his discussions with the two parties and would meet with both sides at the nonaligned summit in Belgrade in early September.

He suggested that one thing that was impeding progress in the peace negotiations was the internal situation in Iran and that perhaps after the Iran elections, the Iranians night be more willing to negotiate. He said the Iranian regime has been unwilling to negotiate honestly since the ceasefire, and what was needed were "meaningful direct talks." That, he said, was "the normal civilized way" to negotiate.

Asked why Iran refused to implement all points of Security Council Resolution 598, Mr. Kittani said he could not speak for Iran.

In answer to questions about reconstruction of war-torn areas of Iraq, he said that al-Basrah, the hardest-hit city had been rebuilt and that the reconstruction of al-Faw was going on "day and night." Mr. Kittani noted that Iraq would not be doing all this reconstruction if it thought the war would resume because both cities were highly vulnerable to artillery.

In answer to other questions, he said that Iraq had no territorial claims on Iran, but was only interested in restoring the internationally recognized borders, and in establishing a comprehensive and lasting peace.

To another question, [words indistinct]" a feverish pitch."

On the Middle East situation, Mr. Kittani said there was no alternative to the inclusion of the PLO in the peace negotiations, and that Israel could not pick the Palestinian side in the negotiations. He said he saw "some light at the end of the tunnel" in the Arab-"Israeli" conflict. Any progress that has been made he attributed to the Palestinian intifadah [uprising].

Press Comments on Peace, Arms to Iran

JN1907100689 Baghdad INA in English 0910 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] Baghdad, Jul. 19, INA—Iraqi press issued here today confirmed that it was necessary that the process of peace between Iraq and Iran should be put on its right course and the Iranian regime must offer what proved its genuine desire in dealing with good intention with the peace negotiations.

In an editorial AL-THAWRAH daily said today any political and sound consideration of the current situation between Iraq and Iran and in the area in general would clearly indicate a truth, namely, the Iranian regime was still posing a serious threat to security of Iraq and that of the region and the issue of world security and peace. The paper warned that the Iranian threat would stay standing unless comprehensive and durable peace between Iraq and Iran was realised and security was established in the region in general.

The paper also said that the Iranian regime was still not committed to the August 8, 1988 agreement that was concluded under auspices of the UN secretary general and Iran's regime accepted accordingly the ceasefire on the 20th of the said month and beginning with direct negotiations on the 25th of the same month.

It also confirmed that the Iranian regime did not show up till now a clear stand towards the goal of comprehensive and durable peace and did not demonstrate tangible preparedness to enter into actual and serious direct negotiations to achieve peace between it and Iraq and in the region.

The paper added that the Iranian regime was offering evidences on its ill intention, non-seriousness and incredibility in dealing with peace negotiations.

The Iranian regime is still depending the ways of manoeuvre, deceit and obstinacy and running after arms deals. It is still considering the issue of prisoners of war a political card to play with and use to achieve its intentions and purposes.

AL-THAWRAH daily stressed that Iraq insisted on Iranian regime's respect of Aug. 8 agreement and abidance by it and to stop the conduct of dodgery and manoeuvering and playing with words. It has to confirm its real desire for realizing comprehensive and permanent peace.

The paper urged the international community to pressurize the Iranian regime to make it understand that the road of direct negotiations was the sole path leading to achievement of peace. It confirmed that the path of manoeuvring and clinging to illusions would only lead to putting the area on the brink of war and abyss.

The paper warned the international community against the consequenses of being indulgent towards the Iranian behaviour of manoeuvre and deceipt and also warned against aftermaths of providing Iran with arms under any cover.

It said providing Iran with arms would encourage it into more illusion and also encourage it to commit rash adventure, the matter which would constitute a threat to security and stability in the region.

It added that out of keenness on responsibility and achievement of peace Iraq anounces that it would not be indulgent against playing with Aug. 8 agreement according to which ceasefire was realized. Iraq would not accept partial solutions keeping the state of no peace, no war that would encourage utilizing it for threatening, extortion and shaking security and stability in the area as a whole.

In its leading article AL-QADISIYAH newspaper for today dealt with the Iranian regime's attitudes since the ceasefire agreement on Aug.8 which stipulates on holding direct negotiations between Iraq and Iran.

The paper made it clear that those attitudes were characterised by the style of dodgery, selectivity and playing with words and consequently the Iranian regime's nonseriousness of its stance towards peace. In this context it said the Iranian regime had been refusing the release of the prisoners of war despite the elapse of nearly a year on the ceasefire and thus violated the Geneva convention on the prisoners of war.

AL-QADISIYAH referred to the Iranian regime's attempts during the four rounds of negotiations that were based on its intentional fleeing from clear and decisive acceptance of any form securing the reaching to permanent solutions to the pending issues. The Iranian regime had purposefully used the issue of the POW's as a card for pressure and extortion disregarding all international norms and laws that treated that humane question and prevented exploiting it in the market [word indistinct].

The paper has concluded that all indications point out that the Iranian regime has not reached yet to a way of peace and that the world particularly its international organisations, has to exercise pressure on these rulers in order to relinquish their twisted policies and deal seriously and with responsibility with the Resolution 598 and the Aug. 8 agreement.

AL-JUMHURIYAH daily for today said since Aug. 8 agreement the Iranian regime has not shown any true desire for peace or any readiness for working for it. In an editorial today the paper clarified that the Iranian side has changed sessions of the negotiations into direct meetings of sterile debate that did not lead to any tangible outcome towards the required aim. It also said that mentality of the rulers in Iran was founded on aggression, ambition and extortion. And it does not seem that it has changed or comprehended the lessons of defeat inflicted on them militarily and politically.

The paper also pointed out that attitudes of the Iranian regime were basically aimed against the process of peace and intended to keep the situations in the region as they were.

It called upon the international community to bear responsibility and play the required role in pressuring Tehran and urging its rulers to act seriously and with responsibility towards the process of peace. The paper said that keeping silent on attitudes of the Iranian regime, cooperating with it or supplying it with arms would encourage it [to] continue its manoeuvres and beautify for it to evade the process of peace and return to its adventurous approach.

The paper concluded its editorial by confirming Iraq's peaceful attitudes and its completely sincere desire for establishing comprehensive and permanent peace with Iran.

Paper Assails Iran's Position on Peace, POW's

JN2507115889 Baghdad INA in English 1110 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Baghdad, July 25, INA—AL-JUMHURIYAH daily of Baghdad stressed that Iran was still maintaining the same mentality that prevailed the stage of the Iraq-Iran war but through other means.

A daily article here today said that Iran apart from its rejection to proceed one step forward to surmount the stage of accepting Security Council Resolution No. 598, was trying to turn the question of prisoners of war into an issue of mass hostages of thousands of Iran and Iraqi POW's who remain in captivity despite the end of hostilities.

It said that the Iranian regime does not care for putting an end to the plight of POW's or showing real concern for finding a sort of understanding over this human issue.

AL-JUMHURIYAH daily pointed out that Iraq during the negotiations tried to isolate the question of POW's from the logic of compromise and even when the negotiations stalled, the Iraqi negotiator demanded giving priority to this matter over other issues. But the state of incompetency shrouding the Iranian leadership postponed release of thousands of Iraqi and Iranian POW's and deprived them from returning to their homes and families.

The daily added that international law provides for exchange of POW's soon after cessation of hostilities and consequently giving it priority on peace agreements.

Concluding, the daily said that Iraq, which triumphed in the war is determined to win the battle of peace with the same power of planning and determination.

President Meets Romanian Deputy Prime Minister

AU1707172989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1637 GMT 17 Jul 89

["Exchange of Romanian-Iraqi Messages at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/07/1989—The president of the Republic of Iraq, Saddam Husayn, received Stefan Andrei, Romanian deputy prime minister, when he met the chief delegates to the festivities marking by the 21st anniversary of his country's national day. On the occasion, the Iraqi head of state was conveyed a friendly salute and the best wishes of good health and of successes for the Iraqi people, along with the wish to develop the fine relations between the two countries and to carry through a productive collaboration on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

Thanking for those wishes, President Saddam Husayn conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu the best wishes of good health and happiness and expressed his wish to further expand bilateral relations, in the spirit of the understandings reached at summit level.

Saddam Congratulates Jaruzelski on Reelection

JN2407080589 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0645 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Baghdad, 24 Jul (INA)—President Saddam Husayn has sent a congratulatory cable to Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of State, on his reelection. The cable reads: On the occasion of your reelection as chairman of the Polish Council of State it pleases me to send to your excellency my heartfelt congratulations. Wishing you good health, happiness, and success in your tasks as well as wishing further prosperity and development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Iraq and Poland in the interest of our friendly countries.

Frayj Believes PLO 'Agreeable' to Elections

TA2607164089 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj expects elections in the territories to take place within 1 year; in his opinion, PLO-Tunis is agreeable to the process.

[Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 1605 GMT on 26 July reports on a meeting between Energy and Infrastructure Minister Moshe Shahal and Frayj, adding: "According to Frayj, PLO-Tunis has given a green light for holding democratic, political, and free elections in the territories."]

Our political correspondent Arye Golan reports that in a meeting with Minister Moshe Shahal, Frayj said that the elections should not be made contingent on ending the intifadah [uprising], because when the process is launched, the uprising will peter out of its own volition.

He proposed that the defense minister adopt a more lenient approach with respect to the release of detainees, the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] conduct, and the treatment of educational institutions.

Likud Ministers Denounce Negotiations With PLO

TA2607175489 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] In what was described as a tense atmosphere, Likud ministers met this afternoon to hear a review of Prime Minister Shamir's recent meetings with Palestinians from the territories. The prime minister reacted to this morning's statements at the Knesset by Deputy Minister Yosi Beilin that indirect contacts between Israel and the PLO have been going on for some time. Mr Shamir said Beilin was not representing the government, and that he presented a distortion of the facts.

But Ministers David Levi and Yitzhaq Moda'i lashed out at the prime minister, saying that his talks with people who associate themselves with the PLO create a new and serious situation. Ministers Levi, Moda'i, and Ari'el Sharon, who have led the fight for changes in the government's peace initiative, will meet tomorrow to plan their next steps.

In an interview with reporter David Ze'ev, Minister Moda'i said if the current talks with Palestinians become negotiations it will mean the end of the Likud. Moda'i also reacted to the statements of contacts with the PLO by saying they were nothing new.

[Begin recording] [Moda'i] Well, this was going on for a long time now, except that nobody admitted it. And I wonder why they shouldn't admit it. If anybody wants to holds conversations with the PLO—directly or indirectly—why shouldn't he say so?

[Ze'ev] Prime Minister Shamir's conversations with Palestinians, are they also negotiations with the PLO or talks with the PLO?

[Moda'i] Well, I don't know, but the guy that Prime Minister Shamir saw made it public that he reported every word to the PLO. And it stands to reason that he would, if he wants to continue living.

[Ze'ev] The government this week reendorsed the government's peace initiative despite your opposition, and now we have these reports and these meetings. What will your next move be?

[Moda'i] I don't know what our next move will be or, at least, I don't want to talk about it at this point. But I can tell you what the final move will be if they continue in the same direction: There will be a Palestinian state. That I will regret very much, if it ever happens, and they will regret it; they don't mean it.

[Ze'ev] Can the Likud remain unified if the peace process continues, or how long can the Likud remain unified?

[Moda'i] The claim made now is that they make a difference between talks and negotiations. Well, if negotiations won't follow the talks then the Likud will remain intact, but if they continue negotiating—directly or indirectly—with the PLO, I am afraid this will bring the Likud to an end, at least the unity in the Likud. [end recording]

Al-Shawwa Denies Reports on Meeting With Shamir

TA2607144089 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 26 Jul 89 p 21

[Interview with Mansur al-Shawwa by Tzvi Gilat; date, place not given]

[Text] [Gilat] Did you or did you not meet Shamir?

[Al-Shawwa] No, I did not.

[Gilat] How do you explain the fact that the press has reported that you, along with four other Palestinian leaders, had a meeting with him?

[Al-Shawwa] Ever since the new line, the PLO's line of peace, was publicized there has been a great deal of activity, as well as secret and non-secret meetings between Palestinians and official representatives of the Israeli Government. I suppose my name was also mentioned as part of the on-going speculations. The last official I conferred with was Minister Rabin, whom I met in his office along with 11 other people from Gaza.

[Gilat] When was that, and where?

[Al-Shawwa] About 8 weeks ago, in Rabin's office. I was not alone.

[Gilat] Have you ever met Shamir?

[Al-Shawwa] Not yet.

[Gilat] Has such a meeting been proposed to you?

[Al-Shawwa] Not yet.

[Gilat] Why do you say "not yet?" Do you think somebody will propose such a meeting?

[Al-Shawwa] It seems to me that Shamir and other Israeli leaders are taking an interest in Gaza, and that is why such a proposal is possible.

[Gilat] And what if you were asked to meet Shamir?

[Al-Shawwa] I would.

[Gilat] Does that mean that you have the PLO's approval to meet him?

[Al-Shawwa] Ah.... The PLO is the representative of the Palestinians in the territories, the representative of the entire Palestinian people. We are all working toward one common objective: self-determination and an identity of our own.

[Gilat] Does that mean that any Palestinian can speak to Shamir and other Israeli leaders, and represent the authorized bodies of the PLO in those meetings?

[Al-Shawwa] I will not be meeting Shamir in order to negotiate, but rather to expound on our positions with a view to getting closer.

[Gilat] Do you not think there are people whom the PLO will not allow to meet with Israeli politicians?

[Al-Shawwa] Maybe. What I am saying is that no responsible Palestinian will cross the lines and agree to less than the minimum required by the Palestinians.

[Gilat] Is that what you will tell Shamir?

[Al-Shawwa] I will tell Shamir that ceding Gaza and the West Bank is imperative if lasting peace with the State of Israel is to be a possibility. Israel is strong, and can remain strong in the next 50 years. But I can promise you that the feelings of the generations that are being born now are more intense than ours, we who were born in the 1940's. Those youngsters will pose a real threat to Israel if an agreement is not reached.

[Gilat] Does this generation of children also represent a threat to your generation?

[Al-Shawwa] A threat to us? Why?

[Gilat] Because your ideas and theirs are apparently not the same.

[Al-Shawwa] If our generation can attain a solution—maybe not for all Palestinians, but for most of them—the younger generation will learn to live with it. Even if not all Palestinians live here, they will have an identity and somebody to identify with; just as there are many Jews who have Israeli identity cards, but do not reside in Israel. What is important is that the process yield us a homeland. I would like to explain that to Shamir.

[Gilat] Commenting on the meeting between Shamir and Jamil al-Tarifi, a PLO spokesman said it was like a talk between two deaf men. Would a meeting between yourself and Shamir not be the same?

[Al-Shawwa] That is possible, but even if that turns out to be the case it will still be useful.

[Gilat] How will it be useful?

[Al-Shawwa] It will be useful if Shamir understands the dangers awaiting my grandchildren and his. That will give Shamir, and perhaps even Sharon, food for thought. There is no other way. Let us say that there are as many of us as there are Israelis, approximately 3.5 million Palestinians. We are almost the same size. If the problem is not solved the entire region will be in danger.

[Gilat] Is that what you told Rabin?

[Al-Shawwa] Yes.

[Gilat] And you believe that Shamir and other politicians may change their position?

[Al-Shawwa] If we have changed, they can change too.

[Gilat] The process will be very long.

[Al-Shawwa] Yes, but if we start it now, maybe we will see some results in 5 years.

[Gilat] Your father [Rashad al-Shawwa, former mayor of Gaza] was acquainted with Israeli politicians. What did he tell you about them?

[Al-Shawwa] My father was a realistic person who understood that there can only be one solution, a political one. He saw that long before others realized it. My father understood that the future of any area given to the Palestinians would have to be linked to the east, meaning Jordan, not because King Husayn is there, but because we must be linked; that is our door to the world. We only have the sea to the west of us, whereas the entire Arab nation lies to the east.

[Gilat] And do you subscribe to your father's ideas?

[Al-Shawwa] Yes, and I believe in Arab unity.

[Gilat] In what way?

[Al-Shawwa] Through a federation or a confederation; I believe in integration within the Arab world. Before the Sykes-Picot Agreement [1916 agreement between Great Britain and France for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire] the entire area belonged to Greater Syria. So what is wrong about that?

[Gilat] That is enough to frighten us.

[Al-Shawwa] A few Arabs may not like it either. We are talking about absolute peace, in which case there would be no reason to be frightened.

[Gilat] Palestinians also hold meetings with each other.

[Al-Shawwa] Of course. We talk about what is happening, and what has to be done.

[Gilat] Are the people who will talk to the Israelis chosen in those meetings?

[Al-Shawwa] Anybody who wants to meet an Israeli official figure.... I am not personally in control over that. I do not know how many people have met the prime minister, if at all. I have heard that people from Gaza met Arens, but I do not know who they are.

[Gilat] The leaders of the intifadah [uprising] issued a leaflet yesterday saying that any meeting between Palestinians and Israeli leaders should not be kept secret.

[Al-Shawwa] If I were to meet Shamir I would publicize it.

Shamir Comments on Talks With Palestinians

TA2607193389 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1840 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Interview with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir by Yoram Ronen and political correspondent Yig'al Goren in the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem on 26 July on the weekly "Moqed" program—videorecorded]

[Excerpt] [Ronen] Good evening, Mr Prime Minister.

[Shamir] Good evening.

[Ronen] Yig'al Goren and myself will obviously start with the main topic on the agenda, namely, your meetings with Palestinian figures from the territories, including the last meeting with Jamil al-Tarifi of al-Birah. You have met several Palestinians in the last few weeks. What was your impression? Is there anybody to talk to?

[Shamir] The talks were definitely interesting, and I intend to pursue them. People speak candidly, answer my questions, and also occasionally pose questions to me. Still, one must realize that these are exploratory, get-acquainted talks which are far from being any type of negotiations.

[Ronen] Let us, for example, take Jamil al-Tarifi, the last man you reportedly conferred with. Why did you choose to meet him in particular? Do you consider him a good partner for opening negotiations on the future of Judaea and Samaria?

[Shamir] Look, I have met many people and I will meet many others, and he is one of many. As I said before, we are not yet in the stage of negotiations, we are far from it.

One must first understand our peace initiative, its intentions, and where it wants to lead. This is an attempt, a serious one in my opinion, to open a way to settling the Israeli-Arab conflict. We decided that we should proceed in two directions: the first is the Arab countries, and the second is the Arabs of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza. It is imperative that we proceed in these two directions in order to change the current nature of the relations. If nothing changes in either of these two directions we will not settle the conflict.

[Ronen] The Cabinet decided, but neither the Arab countries nor the Arabs of Judaea and Samaria are taking part in your initiative.

[Shamir] What I am saying is that I would first of all start with the Arab countries. Were I in the shoes of the United States, I would currently concentrate my energy and efforts on the Arab countries, since it is far easier with them.

[Goren] Which countries?

[Shamir] Almost every country with which we do not have any special problems. For example, why should Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Tunisia, and Kuwait have hostile relations with us? What problems do we have with them?

[Goren] Sir, does the United States not understand this point?

[Shamir] The fact is that it has not followed through on this.

[Ronen] It has been talking to the PLO.

[Shamir] We must have them invite us to sit around the table so we can tell the Arab countries: Let us establish normal relations like other countries. We do not have any problems with each other, neither security nor economic. Admittedly, we differ on the Palestinian problem, but we also differ with Egypt on that point and nevertheless we have peace relations with it. We have excellent relations with the European countries, although we differ on the Palestinian problem. And, what is more, we are proposing a way by which to solve the Palestinian problem. Were this to happen, the climate in the region would change completely, and this would in turn ease the way for proceeding in the direction of the inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza where the problem is more difficult and where a decision is called for.

[Goren] Those countries say that the main problem that must be solved before they get to the point of establishing normal relations with us is that of the Palestinians. In fact, all of them make relations with us contingent on the Palestinian issue.

[Shamir] Okay, I say let us do both things simultaneously. I am not saying that one must take precedence over the other. Can you imagine how it would affect the entire region were we to reach an agreement today with any Arab country on the establishment of normal relations and contacts?

[Goren] Before the solution of the Palestinian problem?

[Shamir] Yes, because the solution of the Palestinian problem will take years at best. After all, what is our proposal all about? We are proposing a two-phased course, the first phase being autonomy or self-rule for 5 years, to be followed by negotiations on the permanent solution. This is a long course, and we would like to get the assistance of the Arab countries. I am convinced the Arab countries have the authority, and the Arabs of Judaea and Samaria look up to them because they are their brothers and they have experience.

[Ronen] To our regret, or maybe to yours sir, the United States does not subscribe to your approach. It has been holding negotiations with the PLO, and even intends to raise the level of these talks. The United States regards these talks as some sort of indirect negotiations between us and the PLO, probably with itself as a mediator.

[Shamir] I am very sorry about that. Incidentally, what indirect negotiations are you talking about? We have told them on more than one occasion that the basic guidelines of this government, the national unity government, include a constant and solid principle: no negotiations with the PLO. There will be no negotiations with the PLO. A second principle is: A Palestinian state will not come into being.

Well then, where do you see a way, or grounds for negotiations between us and the PLO, direct or indirect? Such a possibility does not exist.

[Goren] Sir, how can the widening gap with the United States be bridged? The United States says there can be no peace initiative without the PLO, whereas Israel says—and there is still consensus on this point—there are no talks, there is no PLO, there are no negotiations with the PLO. This has resulted in the fact that the greatest supporter of our initiative currently has very obvious differences with us.

[Shamir] Look, we have excellent relations of friendship and cooperation with the United States; we are actually allies. Nevertheless, we also have differences of opinion, and this is one point on which we differ. Admittedly, when I presented the initiative to the United States I did not tell them that it is either the initiative, or negotiations and contacts with the PLO. I was sure that the initiative would eventually bring them around to what we regard as the correct way. Even today I am sure that this will ultimately be the case. I hope they are persuaded that this is the way.

[Goren] Meanwhile, everything they have been doing points to the contrary. They are making it unequivocally clear to us: Gentlemen, whether you like it or not, there can be no peace initiative without the PLO.

[Shamir] They are not telling us anything of the kind, they have not told us anything like that so far. Mr Kelly, the State Department official in charge of the Middle East desk, is due here next week. We will hear him out and talk to him.

[Goren] He will be accompanied by Dan Kurtzer, who last week said as much to the Israeli charge d'affaires in Washington.

[Shamir] What did he say?

[Goren] He said that the United States believes that the initiative cannot be implemented without the PLO's participation in the process.

[Shamir] Why should we talk through third parties? When they come here we will talk and explain things to them. I also hope to visit Washington and once again call on the secretary of state and the President. Perhaps, I hope, the secretary of state will come here. He has never been here. He must see this country, and we will explain the issue to him.

[Goren] Mr Prime Minister, this brings us back to the beginning of our interview, to the issue of your meetings with Palestinians. Incidentally, these meetings have had numerous repercussions throughout the world and in Israel. Do you regard these meetings as the beginning of a new era or a new period? How would you describe it?

[Shamir] It should be seen as an effort in the context of the initiative. I want to hear these people out, and I also want to persuade them. I want to instill in them the belief that this is the right way. I would seize this occasion to tell the following to their brothers, all the inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza: If they want to end their suffering—which we do not wish on them—if they want to stop wavering between hope and despair; if they want to see an end to the bloodshed; and if they are worried about the future of their children and families—and they are, they have told me as much—they should realize that they must join us in the efforts pertaining to our initiative so that once and for all we may arrive at an agreement and a solution to the conflict, if not a total solution then at least we can make a start and get closer to one.

[Ronen] Perhaps you could enlighten us, Mr Prime Minister, as to whom you consider fit to hold negotiations with us. Jamil al-Tarifi says he gave a full report to the PLO about the talk with you, others will probably say that without the PLO's approval they will not talk to you. Rabin, your partner in the initiative, says he talks to any Palestinian living here, including Faysal al-Husayni who resides in East Jerusalem. Who are your interlocutors?

[Shamir] First of all, none of the people coming to see me said they received the PLO's permission to meet me.

[Ronen] They said that post factum.

[Shamir] Perhaps. None of them told me that they would send a report, they did not mention the PLO to me. They told me about their thoughts and feelings. Had they said even one word about the PLO I would have told them to stop. You do not discuss the PLO with me, because I will not talk to it. As the talks proceed, and with the help of the Arab countries, which I mentioned earlier, I am prepared to consolidate a temporary representative group with which we may start the initial stages of the process until elections are held.

[Goren] For instance, take Faysal al-Husayni. Incidentally, he has never publicly declared that he is a member of the PLO. I do not recall ever hearing him make such a declaration. Al-Husayni has been released from prison and walks around freely. He is considered quite a recognized leader among the Palestinian population. For example, take Hanna Sinyurah and Ziyad Abu-Zayyad. Are they fit to meet you?

[Shamir] Do not ask me about such minute details because I will not give you an answer. I want to talk to inhabitants of the region, to the residents of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza. I am also awaiting a move with respect to the Arab countries. If the Americans do not do that, I will look for other ways.

[Ronen] Mr Prime Minister, you are probably aware of the fact that a Palestinian Arab in this region will not be prepared to meet you if he does not have the PLO's approval, even if he is not a registered member of the PLO.

[Shamir] I know the people I have met so far did not receive permission from anybody to meet with me. There is a great deal of confusion on this matter.

[Ronen] Abu-Iyad [Salah Khalaf] says he is being briefed on each and every meeting.

[Shamir] Those guys are liars and cheats, they tell a new lie every day. One day a leaflet is issued by—what do you call them?—the Unified National Command, saying meetings with Israeli personalities are banned. But then, only last Monday, they said they are being briefed and they are in charge of these talks. That is nonsense.

[Goren] And do you still believe that there are leaders in the territories who are not associated with the PLO? Do you believe it will ever be possible to build a leadership that is not associated with the PLO?

[Shamir] I do not want to go into that matter. I am studying the situation. I am sure that the population here has its own interests and desires, it must have its own desires. Look how happy they were when the schools reopened. They realized it was the future of their children that was at stake. But the future of their children does not only lie in the schools, there are other things. I am sure that after a while a large part of the population will realize that they must talk to us, that they must arrive at an agreement with us, that they must cooperate with us, and that they should not constantly expect calls from somewhere in Tunis by people who do not care about them in the least.

[Goren] By the same logic, perhaps it is best for us that the negotiations between the United States and the PLO in Tunis continue, so that the Americans may pressure the PLO and make it more moderate, and in turn allow the local leadership to talk to you.

[Shamir] I do not plan American strategy. They will do their job, and we will do ours. I have just one piece of advice, or rather a request for the United States: concentrate their efforts on the Arab countries. In my opinion, this is imperative and will prove beneficial.

[Ronen] The Americans say that as far as they are concerned it would be an achievement if 'Arafat were to say that he accepts Israel's peace initiative in principle. Then, as Yosi Ben-Aharon, the director general of your office said, the moment of truth will come between us and the United States.

[Shamir] Nonsense, he did not say anything about a moment of truth. I am not expecting such a moment, I am not expecting anything from Yasir 'Arafat. I do not foresee even a spark of understanding between myself and that fellow any time in the future.

[Ronen] What will happen if 'Arafat were to say that he accepts the Israeli peace initiative in principle?

[Shamir] Let him say so.

[Goren] The question is whether, as far as you are concerned, this will be a green light.

[Shamir] I will not sit or talk with that man, regardless of what he says. I know what he wants. I know he wants to see me dead, that is what I know; not just me, but also you and you and all of us. That is what he wants. We must reach an agreement with the inhabitants of the region who know they must live with us here. They are not that keen to live under our rule, and that is a problem. They know we do not want another Arab state in this region, on this land; they know that! There are 21 Arab countries, and that is more than enough. Nevertheless, they live here and we must reach an agreement with them.

[Goren] You told al-Tarifi that peace is made with enemies rather than with friends. There is no doubt that our greatest enemies at the moment are the PLO leaders. How does one square with the other?

[Shamir] Admittedly, peace is made with enemies, but not with all enemies and not under all circumstances. This is an enemy that wants to set up its own state instead of my state. The State of Israel will not be able to exist if a Palestinian state is established here. That should be clear once and for all.

[Ronen] Mr Prime Minister, Ministers Sharon, Levi, and Moda'i have said that the very meetings you and Foreign Minister Arens have been holding with Palestinian leaders stand in contravention to the so-called main brace of the Likud Central Committee resolution that made talks with Palestinians explicitly contingent on ending the intifadah [uprising]. The intifadah, however, has not ended.

[Shamir] They have not said that.

[Ronen] They have.

[Shamir] You ought to let go of that ridiculous term—braces.

[Ronen] You do not like it?

[Shamir] I certainly do not. The resolutions contain several principles which have been part of the Likud's doctrine from day one. We live with them, we dream them, we fight for them—and everyone knows this is true.

[Ronen] But you stated clearly that only if the intifadah stops, will talks with the Palestinians be launched.

[Shamir] It was said there that negotiations for the implementation of the initiative will not begin before violence is eradicated. The same was stated in the initiative, if you will.

[Ronen] What is the difference between negotiations and talks?

[Shamir] There is a big difference. Talks are where people become acquainted. Am I conducting negotiations with anyone? Do these Palestinians represent anyone? This is no negotiation. Elections are negotiations. This is the beginning of the process. I regret to say that we are still far from the stage of negotiations.

[Goren] Mr Prime Minister, what will you tell those Likud members who object to your line, who are saying that these contacts with the Palestinians encourage terror?

[Shamir] There are no such people. You should know that there is full unanimity in the Likud. There are no differences of opinion.

[Ronen] Are there no differences of opinion between you and Sharon?

[Shamir] There are no ideological differences.

[Goren] What differences do exist?

[Shamir] There may be. [laughs]

[Ronen] Personal disagreements?

[Shamir] I do not know. There are no ideological disagreements. There are none in the Likud. They can be invented and blown up, but the truth is that there are none, and I do everything to prevent the emergence of any artificial differences.

[Goren] Then what are the discrepancies between you and the trio [Ministers Sharon, Levi, and Moda'i]? What created them? The love of Eretz Yisra'el?

[Shamir] Why don't you ask them? In my view, there are no ideological or political differences of opinion.

[Ronen] There are, however, disagreements which were given vent in last week's meeting of the Likud ministers, when Minister Sharon told you explicitly: I despise you, Mr Prime Minister. You seemed to have remained indifferent to the affront, but it might have signaled the other ministers that such an assault is acceptable.

[Shamir] There were no differences of opinion there, possibly only cultural differences; no differences of opinion whatsoever. There was no ideology or philosophy in it.

[Goren] Is this a struggle for succession?

[Shamir] I do not think so. I am not in the business of bequeathing and Sharon is not in the business of inheriting. The exchange of words should not have taken place in any cultural framework.

[Goren] You are known, sir, as a man who does not insist on rites of honor. There is, however, the matter of the honor of the Government of Israel. When someone tells you: I despise and ridicule you, the Israeli Government's honor is affronted. Will you waive the government's honor as well?

[Shamir] I waive neither my nor the government's honor. Never. After these remarks were made, many people—both friends and, for different reasons, people who are not friends—came and told me: Take the most drastic measures, use your authority.

[Ronen] Fire Sharon?

[Shamir] Right. I knew then and I know now that I can do it. I weighed it, taking many factors into consideration, but this time, I decided against it.

[Ronen and Goren] Why?

[Shamir] That is my business. Still, the fact remains that I could do it.

[Goren] Does not your inaction invite additional pressures or incidents undermining your authority?

[Shamir] I have not invited anything. I hope it will not happen again.

[Ronen] What if it does?

[Shamir] There are many considerations I have to weigh. You know that with me, personal considerations are at the bottom of the list, they are absolutely marginal. I have much more important considerations. I will, however, say this: It cannot recur.

[Ronen] Do you expect Minister Sharon to apologize? Do you try to isolate him from Ministers Levi and Moda'i?

[Shamir] Let it be. These things do not interest me.

[Ronen] It seems, Mr Prime Minister, that certain circles interpret your desire for peace in the party, and for party and government consensus, as signs of weakness and the absence of leadership. They seem to be saying that no one rules—neither the prime minister nor the Cabinet.

[Shamir] It is very interesting how weakness can create strength. Because of my weaknesses, the Likud is the decisive and most potent strength in the country; all because of my weaknesses, thanks to my weaknesses. There is a paradox for you: weakness as a source of strength. That is it.

[Goren] Do you claim the same with regard to your move at the Likud Central Committee, which was at once interpreted as weakness, but which you contend is the source of strength?

[Shamir] No, something entirely different happened in the Likud Central Committee. The Central Committee events reflected what I said a few minutes ago: There are no differences of opinion on any ideological subject or issue in the Likud. There is an absolute unanimity on the main issues, on the principles. Therefore, I could not allow the Likud Central Committee to convene and start scuffling and wrestling. Over what? Over the lack of differences? I did not want to allow struggles over nothing, which would have resulted in a rift.

[Goren] But look what the papers wrote afterwards: The prime minister has surrendered, caved in.

[Shamir] What does it matter what the papers wrote?! Look at the Likud's image and strength; wait and see how strong it will be in the next confrontation. This is the important thing. [passage omitted]

Plan for Palestinian State in Jordan Cited

JN2707101489 Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic
10 Jul 89 pp 1, 16

[By Khalid 'Alawinah in Kuwait]

[Text] Informed Palestinian sources have stressed that the leadership of the Zionist movement is currently mobilizing support for the two wings of the ruling Israeli coalition on a new policy toward the Palestinians. The sources told AL-BAYAN that the Zionist leaders began preparing this project after realizing that it was impossible to undermine the Palestinian intifadah [uprising], continuing in the occupied territories for the 20th month. The intifadah managed to force the Israelis to consider the new changes it produced.

The project aims at creating confusion among the Palestinians and lifting the international pressure being applied to put an end to Israel's occupation of the Arab territories.

The informed Palestinian sources stressed to AL-BAYAN that reserve Brigadier General Yo'el Ben-Porat, who is close to the Likud, was entrusted to formulate a new Zionist project to serve as a charter within which the Israeli politicians shall move. The basis of this will be the acceptance by Palestinians of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's plan on holding municipal elections in the occupied Arab territories. The Palestinian sources said the Zionist project states the following: —The Jewish state established by the Zionist movement to be a homeland for all Jews shall recognize the Palestinian people's right to establish a sovereign state on part of the land of Palestine. —The citizens of the state of Israel and the Jews in the diaspora propose, through their government, that the Palestinians, through the leadership they choose in free elections, begin negotiations with a view to dividing Palestine, whose borders extend from the sea to the desert, and bringing about peace between the two peoples. —The basic solution [al-makhraj al-asasi] is that the land of Israel east of the River Jordan shall be the

Palestinian state. —The areas of the land of Israel in the West Bank that are under Israel's control, and the areas inside the green line inhabited by Palestinians, shall be part of the Palestinian state in the second stage—that is, after the establishment of the Palestinian state east of the River Jordan. —The West Bank and Gaza shall not be handed over to and placed under the sovereignty of the Palestinian state except after peace with this state prevails and is manifested in mutual economic, tourist, and cultural relations, and through cooperation in establishing economic and water projects, in addition to allowing free movement of people and goods. —The leaders of the Palestinian state shall abandon the claim to the right of repatriation for Palestinians who emigrated in 1948 and 1967. —In the first stage, the Palestinian state shall be established east of the River Jordan. This state shall enjoy all characteristics of sovereignty; it shall have an army, police, security organ, flag, and national anthem. Israel shall recognize this state and propose to the leaders of the Palestinians to move toward establishing this state through peaceful means and through persuading the Palestinian people, who have no homeland!! [punctuation as published] and who aspire to establish a sovereign state. Israel shall support this endeavor through its political influence in the world!! [punctuation as published] and will use its media to pave the way for this idea.

In case this idea does not materialize through the process of persuasion, Israel will take the appropriate military measures to achieve it because it is of substantial concern to Israel. —After the Palestinian state has been established, Israel shall withdraw from most of the West Bank and Gaza except for the following areas:

Areas surrounding Al-Latrun, where the Jerusalem road, the wide Jerusalem path, and al-Nabi Samu'il heights lie, which shall remain under Israel's security sovereignty.

Jerusalem's northern, eastern, and southern borders, as well as the lands of Ma'aleh Adummim settlement, shall remain under Israeli sovereignty.

Israel's congested coastal strip shall be expanded to include Qalqilyah, Tulkarm, and the areas of Jerusalem, the eternal capital of Israel, except for the Al-Aqsa Mosque and its periphery, which shall be under Palestinian sovereignty as an external territorial extension. The wailing wall shall remain under Israeli sovereignty.

The Gaza Strip will be linked to the Palestinian state by a flyover (a number of bridges). It shall pass through the land of Israel in accordance with certain security arrangements.

Every Palestinian citizen living in Israel after determining the borders shall have the right to choose either Palestinian and Israeli nationality. This shall also apply to Jews under the sovereignty of the new Palestinian state.

Israel shall encourage exchange of residents; the aim is to evacuate the Israelis from the areas that Israel will leave, and the Arabs from the areas that will be annexed to Israel.

Rabin Reviews Palestinian List for Shamir Talks

TA2707044289 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0400 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Alignment ministers are satisfied with the meetings the prime minister is conducting with Palestinians, and hope they will continue. The defense minister told last night's Alignment ministers meeting that he himself several times approved lists of Palestinian public figures, prepared by the coordinator of government activities in the territories at Mr Shamir's request. Minister Rabin said, however, that he was not involved in making up the lists.

The prime minister said last night that the policy he formulated for himself is to talk with Arabs from Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip and not with PLO people from outside the territories. He reiterated that he would never meet with Yasir 'Arafat.

Soviet Says Ties Depend on Conference Progress

TA2707060289 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0500 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Report by party affairs correspondent Yaron Deqel from Moscow]

[Text] Relations between the USSR and Israel are perhaps gradually warming up, but full diplomatic relations are not in the works at this stage. That is the impression gained from a briefing by Aleksey Chistyakov, head of the Israel and PLO department at the Middle East desk of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Chistyakov said the current situation between the two countries—the lack of full diplomatic relations—is not normal, and that the USSR supports full diplomatic relations with all countries. But at the same time he added that normalization in relations between Israel and the USSR depends on real movement in the Israeli position on an international conference.

Chistyakov nevertheless stressed that despite the USSR's support for the international conference, it does not mean that the Soviet Union is not prepared to take into consideration proposals by other sides, and does not reject such suggestions out of hand.

On the Israeli peace initiative, the Soviet official reiterated positions that Moscow has stated in the past. He said the initiative contains interesting points, referring specifically to elections in the territories, but in his opinion, it would be useful only as part of an overall Middle East process. He claimed that the Palestinians and the Arabs fear that elections will not be followed by anything else.

Another issue raised at the meeting was the possibility of a visit to Israel by Soviet Middle East expert Gennadiy Tarasov. Chistyakov said a date has not been set for a visit by Tarasov, but if such a visit serves the peace process, then it might take place. This was what was said by the Soviet official to visiting Israeli party affairs correspondents.

Arens Refuses Romanian Suggestion on PLO Dialogue

TA2607140889 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu is once again suggesting to Israel that it open a direct dialogue with 'Arafat. Our political correspondent Arye Golan reports that this recommendation was included in a message relayed by Constantin Mita, Ceausescu's envoy, to Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

Minister Arens replied that the Israeli Government is not in any way interested in either direct or indirect negotiations with the PLO. This is a terrorist organization which has committed some of the worst atrocities ever witnessed by the world, and it still continues to engage in terror, he noted. According to the foreign minister, the Romanian president is a great friend of Israel, and if he were to voice his support of the Israeli peace plan the Arabs would be encouraged to accept it.

The Romanian envoy will confer with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir tomorrow.

Shamir Urges Ceausescu To Work for Peace Plan

TA2707104389 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] The prime minister today received Constantin Mitea, the Romanian president's envoy. President Ceausescu's message conveyed by Mitea is that Israel should begin a dialogue with the PLO within the framework of an international conference because it holds the key to a solution.

Mr Shamir told the envoy from Bucharest that our position on the PLO has not changed, that we do not trust these people, and that they are not partners for us in peace negotiations. The PLO is a terrorist organization and continues to operate against us. Israel, on the other hand, is trying to advance the peace initiative among the Arabs of Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip. Mr Shamir proposed to President Ceausescu that he try to convince leaders of Arab countries to support the peace initiative.

Standard of Living Drops in 1st Quarter of 1989

TA2507112389 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 25 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by Gid'on 'Eshet]

[Text] According to data released by the Central Bureau of Statistics, in the first quarter of 1989 the standard of living in Israel, measured by per capita private consumption, was identical to the standard of living during the same period 2 years ago.

The standard of living has been constantly declining since the first quarter of 1988.

In the first quarter of 1989, per capita private consumption dropped by 3 to 4 percent compared with the end of 1988. If consumption continues to drop for the rest of the year, the standard of living will have dropped by an annual 12 percent.

An analysis of the decline in private consumption indicates stability in consumption in terms of housing, a rise of 5 percent in electricity and fuel consumption, stability in the consumption of footwear and clothing, and a sharp decrease of some 25 percent in the consumption of nonperishable goods.

Furniture purchases dropped by 15 percent, whereas the purchase of private cars dropped by 40 percent. On the other hand, the approximately 1.5 percent decline in food consumption was relatively modest compared with the end of 1988.

Prices in the first quarter of 1989 show that average per capita expenditures amounted to 920 new Israeli shekels a month.

Unrest Incidents in Territories 25 Jul Updated

TA2607151989 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 26 Jul 89 p 12

[Report by Joel Greenberg and Mikhal Sela']

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] At Idnah near Hebron, residents reported that settlers hurled stones at Arab cars, injuring two motorists. At 'Anabta the Israeli driver of a tanker-truck was injured in the head by a rock thrown at the vehicle. [passage omitted]

In clashes with troops, four Palestinians were wounded at Husan, south of Bethlehem. [passage omitted]

Fawzi Isma'il al-Lidawi, 20, of Rafah's Shabura refugee camp, died in Tel Hashomer Hospital of wounds sustained Monday evening.

As word of the death reached Rafah, youths took to the streets, set fire to tyres and built road barriers. Troops, who came to disperse the demonstrators, wounded six Palestinians, according to Palestinian sources. The IDF spokesman put the number at two. The authorities imposed a curfew on the town.

Clashes between troops and Palestinians were also reported in Gaza, al-Shati', Bayt Hanun and Khan Yunus. Eight-year-old Ziyad Sami al-Najjar of Ikhza'a near Khan Yunus, was seriously wounded in the stomach. Also wounded was a 40-year-old man in the Khan Yunus refugee camp. Gaza hospitals reported that several people were treated for beating wounds, but did not require hospitalization.

Meanwhile, the security forces launched an arrest-campaign on 'Abasan, near Khan Yunus, arresting scores of Palestinians. During the operation the village was declared a closed military zone, according to Palestinian sources, who added that many others were arrested in Jabalyah, al-Nusayrat, al-Mughazi, and al-Burayj.

[Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew on 26 July, in a page two report by Tzvi Singer, Roni Shaqed, Hayim Broida, and David Regev adds: "At about 2200 last night, an empty bottle hit bus No 23 as it was driving through Wadi al-Jawz. The bottle hit the driver, who stopped and fired two gunshots. About 1 hour later in the village of Bayt Safafa, three youths stoned a private car driven by a standing army soldier. The soldier stopped the car and fired a long burst from his M-16. There were no casualties and no damage was caused. The soldier was interrogated."

[Jerusalem Domestic Service in English at 1000 GMT on 26 July, reports: "In the al-Shaja'iyah district of Gaza, security forces demolished the house of Bashir Sa'ada, who—they suspect—murdered his uncle Bashir Siyam for cooperating with Israeli authorities."]

Military Exports Redirected to U.S., Europe

TA2207073089 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0700 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Israel has redirected the vast bulk of its sophisticated military exports from Third World countries to the United States and Europe. This is because the Israeli industries can compete with Western industries. The above was reported by RAFAEL's [Armaments Development Authority] deputy director general for research and development to our correspondent Yo'av Aviv on the occasion of the awarding of the Israel defense prize. He said that the military industries are capable of utilizing new technologies quickly, and with great efficiency and skill to produce advanced, sophisticated weapons.

Arens Calls For Lavi Project Revitalization

TA2207105589 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Moshe Arens has called for the revitalization of the Lavi project as a central way of renewing economic growth and creating jobs. Our correspondent Shulamit Schmerling reports that in a speech in Haifa, Minister Arens said that projects like the Lavi are an example of how to develop sophisticated industries, attract investments, and stem the tide of unemployment. He urged the Cabinet to adopt the necessary economic resolutions tomorrow, during its weekly session.

Minister Arens, a prominent member of the Shamir camp in the Likud, refused to directly address the internal party conflicts. Hinting at Ari'el Sharon, however, he said that he expects everyone to accord the prime minister the kind of respect he deserves by virtue of his position.

He emphasized that contrary to the impression created in the public, the Likud Central Committee did not rule on any change or amendment to the political initiative. Furthermore, he added, no one requested this either. The braces do not alter the initiative. It remains unchanged, as endorsed by the Cabinet and the Knesset.

King Husayn, Queen Nur Return From UK Visit

JN2607174089 Amman Television Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Their Majesties King Husayn and Queen Nur returned to the homeland this evening in God's care and protection after a private visit to the United Kingdom. During the visit, his majesty the king underwent periodic medical checkups the results of which were good and reassuring. King Husayn also held a number of political meetings on Arab issues and delivered a number of lectures on Middle East developments.

His Royal Highness Prince Muhammad, his majesty the king's personal representative; and Her Highness Princess Taghrid returned with his majesty the king.

Their majesties were received at the airport by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan, a number of the Hashemite family, his excellency the prime minister, the chief of the Royal Court, his majesty the king's adviser, his majesty the king's political adviser, his majesty the king's personal adviser, ministers, a number of civilian and military officials, and the British charge d'affaires in Amman.

CSSR Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives in Amman

JN2607203689 Amman Television Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The CSSR deputy foreign minister arrived in Amman this evening on a 2-day visit to Jordan, during which, he will hold talks with a number of officials on relations between the two friendly countries.

He was received at Queen Alia International Airport by the secretary general and senior officials of the Foreign Ministry and the CSSR charge d'affaires in Amman.

Soviet Scientist Welcomes Role in Space Program

JN2607202089 Amman Television Service in English 1900 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan conferred at the Royal Hashemite [Court] today with the Soviet astronaut Dr Viktor Savanyak, who took part in the meetings of the Sixth Congress on Aerospace Education. Dr Savanyak took part in space programs between 1981 and 1988, one of which took place in 1985 and lasted 167 days in outerspace.

Commending the astronaut's achievement, his royal highness called for the exchange of scientific and cultural information between Jordan and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet astronaut welcomed a Jordanian participation in a future space program along with Soviet space scientists including programs of remote sensing under the technological and scientific cooperation accords between the two countries.

Dr Savanyak presented Prince Hasan with a pictorial space book including photos of the earth taken by Soviet and U.S. astronauts during joint flights. He also presented his highness with a book containing photographs of Jordan.

Prince Hasan Receives Japanese Official

JN2607203989 Amman Television Service in English 1900 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan has received the president of the Japanese Agency for International Cooperation, (Kansoki Banajia), who is visiting Jordan to view development projects which are financed partially by the agency. Mr (Banajia) said he appreciated his majesty the king and his royal highness' efforts in bolstering Jordanian-Japanese relations.

His royal highness expressed Jordan's appreciation of Japan's support for Jordan's economic programs and supplying them with expertise.

The meeting was attended by the minister of planning and the Japanese ambassador to Jordan.

Industry, Trade Minister Leaves for Baghdad

JN2607160489 Amman PETRA-JNA in Arabic 1420 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Amman, 26 Jul (PETRA)—Minister of Industry and Trade Ziyad 'Innab left Amman at noon today for Baghdad to participate in meetings of the ministers of trade, industry, and economy of the Arab Cooperation Council [ACC] countries due to start there tomorrow.

Over a period of 3 days, the ministers will discuss developing trade cooperation between the ACC countries and establishing firm foundations for coordination to support their negotiating position with other countries and international organizations in the field of imports. In addition, they will discuss cooperation in setting up joint industrial projects to bring about Arab industrial and food security.

Paper Lists Names of Parliamentary Candidates

JN2707080889 Amman AKHBAR AL-USBU' in Arabic 27 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] AKHBAR AL-USBU' has learned that the Ministry of Interior will announce that voter registration will take place between 1-15 August 1989.

Preliminary information suggests that around 600 candidates will contest in the elections, which will take place before the end of the year in different parts of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Palestinian sources have told AKHBAR AL-USBU' that PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has issued strict instructions to Palestinians residing in Jordan not to ally themselves with any of the opposition parties and to elect only those whom they believe are suitable to serve the goals of the nation and homeland under the leadership of His Majesty King Husayn.

In spite of this, it has been learned that 20 Palestinians, who have been residing here since 1948, will fight this battle.

Among the journalists, the name of Fakhri Qa'war will appear as a candidate for Christians in Amman. The name of Fahd al-Rimawi also appears as candidate in Amman. It is also said that five or six journalists will stand for election in their constituencies.

On the other hand, it is rumored that the Muslim Brotherhood will present 36 candidates in different parts of the Kingdom. These of course do not include Eng Layth Shubaylat, president of the Engineers Association, who will stand for election in Amman as representative of all popular sectors that elected him in the past.

Columnist Notes Israeli 'Plot' Against Dinar

JN2707090289 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 Jul 89 p 16

["An Issue and an Opinion" column by Salamah 'Ukur: "The Jordanian Dinar and the Israeli Plot"]

[Text] Shamir's government is launching a large-scale political and propagands campaign against Jordan in an attempt to undermine its security and economic stability. This campaign has been going on since the disengagement of legal and administrative ties with the West Bank and since the downfall of the Israel wager on the Jordanian option in any settlement.

Israel has actually carried out an ugly plot against the Jordanian dinar. The West Bank, which is under occupation, was the loose link through which Israel moved secretly to deal continuous blows to the Jordanian dinar, making use of some low-minded people who sold themselves to the devil at the expense of the majority of their people.

Speculations were made and both rumors and lies were fabricated in a bid to shake the Jordanian dinar and devalue its exchange rate in favor of the Israeli shekel. This harmed the dinar and the interests of most citizens in the occupied territories because the dinar is the citizens' saving currency and the principal monetary unit used in commercial transactions in the occupied territories. This also raised the value of the shekel, which is considered one of the toppled currencies, and exposed the dinar to strong shake-ups and painful blows which greatly weakened it.

Israel's resort to this plot against the Jordanian economy did not take us by surprise. It is an enemy; it is in its interest to weaken the Jordanian stand and retaliate against its political defeat in the international arena and against the failure of its wager on the Jordanian option. However, some covetous people are seeking profit at the expense of the national welfare and the majority of citizens by smuggling the Jordanian dinar out of the country, making speculations, and disseminating rumors and lies against it in order to weaken it. Such conduct is regrettable and arouses the indignation of all honorable Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories.

The leadership of the intifadah [uprising] has done well by threatening those collaborating with the occupation authorities and warning them against continuing speculations and plots against the Jordanian dinar, which is considered the national currency there.

This Israeli plot against the dinar, national economy, and stability will not dissuade Jordan from adhering to its firm stands and continuing its active and infuential role in the international arena in order to tighten Israel's isolation and expose its opposition to the efforts for a just peace. The national and pan-Arab welfare is for Jordan above any other consideration.

Prime Minister Meets Chamber of Industry Members

JN2607120589 Amman Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Prime Minister al-Sharif Zayd Ibn-Shakir received in his office today the president and members of the Amman Chamber of Industry. The prime minister was briefed by the Chamber's president on the industrial sector and its role in overcoming the economic crisis in the Kingdom. Al-Sharif Zayd said the government was giving attention to the industrial sector and would be providing it with facilities.

'Violent' Syrian Shelling Reported 26 Jul

NC2607200889 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1845 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpts] The Syrians continue to attack the eastern areas from their artillery and rocket launcher emplacements in upper al-Matn and from 'Alayh, in particular.

According to the latest reports, central al-Matn and the town of al-Hadath came under bombardment at approximately 2145; the shelling of the residential areas on Kasrawan coast became violent at approximately 2050; the townships in central and northern al-Matn were bombarded at 2100. The coast of northern al-Matn was shelled at 2110; a Syrian rocket launcher then fired 40 rockets at central al-Matn; the al-Matn coast and al-Ashrafiyah were shelled at 2110; the coast of Kasrawan was shelled at 2122 and the Jubayl coast was also bombarded later.

We have just been informed that al-Hadath is now coming under heavy shelling. [passage omitted]

Security sources have pinpointed the sources of the shelling as follows: The towns of southern al-Matn were shelled from 'Alayh; the coastal and central areas of al-Matn and Kasrawan were attacked with shellfire and rockets from upper al-Matn—from 'Uyun al-Ruhban, al-Maghithi, Tarshish, and 'Aynturah, to be precise; and the Jubayl coast was bombarded from the north. We also just been informed that the shelling of al-Hadath is now intensifying.

Regarding the Army's retaliation for the attacks, AFP has reported that shells have fallen on Shtawrah in al-Biqa', West Beirut, 'Alayh, and upper al-Matn. As a result of the Syrian shelling, citizen Tony Mandur Mir'ib was martyred and Susan Bajjali, Elie Abu-Khalil, Michel Daw, Roger Haddad, and Hada Abu-Khalil were wounded.

We have just been informed that in addition to the shelling of the al-Hadath area, violent clashes involving the use of various weapons are taking place on the al-Hadath lines and the Old Sidon Road. Several rockets hit al-Hazimiyah a short time ago. They were fired from an area near al-Rasul mosque in Beirut's southern suburb.

[Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic at 1915 GMT 26 July in a similar report states: "The shelling of southern al-Matn killed two citizens, Tony Mir'ib and Katrine Lubbus."]

W. Beirut Casualties Reported

NC2707050489 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic 0430 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Excerpt] The fascist and spiteful alliance of Michel 'Awn and Samir Ja'Ja' fired hundreds of shells last night on the residential areas of West Beirut and a number of the villages and towns in the mountain, al-Biqa', and the north. According to preliminary reports, the shelling killed 13 persons and injured 60 in West Beirut. Among the dead were five from the Islamic old people's home. There was also massive material damage, particularly from the several fires caused by the phosphorous shells. [passage omitted]

Further on Casualties

NC2707073989 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0715 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Citing medical sources, AFP has reported that 26 persons were killed and 82 others wounded in 6 hours of violent bombardment that involved one-third of Lebanese territory last night. The agency adds that the exchange of artillery duels between the Syrian and Lebanese Armies left 22 persons dead and 53 injured in the areas where the Syrian Army is present and 4 dead and 29 wounded in the Christian areas.

Security sources said the Lebanese Army, in its most comprehensive response to the Syrian fire since the eruption of fighting on 14 March, yesterday shelled for the first time the long-range Syrian artillery emplacements in Dayr Zannun near Al-Masna', on the Syrian-Lebanese border.

Birri Cited on 'Operational Plan' With Hizballah

NC2607162689 Beirut Voice of National Resistance in Arabic 1430 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Amal leader Minister Nabih Birri has affirmed: We are on the threshold of a stage of closer ties that will enable us to face the onslaught on Lebanon's unity and its Arab and Islamic character. He stressed the strong relations with Iran. Minister Birri expressed the hope that these ties will have a positive effect on Lebanon, and on the Shi'ite scene in particular, after the appointment of President 'Ali Khamene'i as the Islamic revolution's spiritual guide. Minister Birri emphasized that the unification of nationalist and Islamic ranks strengthens Lebanon against the forces which are trying to exploit it and against Israel. He pointed out that after achieving this unity, and after the Tehran meeting, we will be up against more extreme positions than the ones with which Michel 'Awn is now confronting us in cooperation with Iraq.

The Amal leader stressed that there is no longer any justification for any fighting between the Amal Movement and Hizballah. He noted that the recent fighting signified that the Amal member was not killing the Hizballah member but his own leadership, and the Hizballah member was killing the Hizballah leadership.

The minister announced: We have agreed on an operational plan. Addressing the extremists on both sides, he urged them to understand the significance of what happened in Tehran and to become less extremist. He added that this operational plan will be implemented on 22 August.

Minister Birri asserted that the war between the Amal Movement and Hizballah has ended forever. He warned that there may be infiltrations on both sides and urged that the meeting of the nationalist and Islamic forces in Tehran be continued in Lebanon and followed up in Damascus. He urged both parties: Let our blood be shed together in the noblest and most honorable enterprise; namely, resistance in the South.

Asks Tehran for Arms

PM2407082489 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 21 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Birri Visits Iranian Missile Factories"]

[Text] Paris, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Sources close to the Amal Movement have confirmed that Nabih Birri, the movement's leader, has visited Iranian missile and artillery factories during the past 2 days. The sources also confirmed that Birri asked Tehran to supply him with these kinds of weapons. They also said that Iran has allocated financial aid to Lebanese parties opposed to the military government headed by General Michel 'Awn.

Al-Huss Comments on Fahd, 'Awn Statements

NC2507113289 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 0800 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Responding to a question on what Saudi King Fahd Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz has stated about Lebanon, Prime Minister Dr Salim al-Huss has stated: We welcome the statement that King Fahd, custodian of the two holy mosques, made before the Saudi Cabinet, calling on the Lebanese people to give a chance to the peace efforts and to restoring normal and constitutional life to their homeland. This statement revives hope in a solution that is to emanate from the Arab initiative being undertaken by the tripartite committee.

Responding to General Michel 'Awn's statement yesterday that the unification of the institutions cannot be achieved before what he called liberation, Prime Minister al-Huss said: Such talk will only arouse the anxiety of all those who are banking on finding a way out of the Lebanese crisis soon. 'Awn's statement means that he opposes the revival of the constitutional institutions through the election of a president for the republic and a speaker for the Chamber of Deputies and the establishment of one government for a united Lebanon. This should raise a question of principle: From where does General 'Awn derive all these powers that entitle him to obstruct the restoration of the institutions stipulated in the Constitution? Even those who say that the military government is legitimate admit that a government that assumes power in the absence of a president has no transitional character and, therefore, its basic task must be to prepare to elect a president for the republic to hand over power to the first government established under this president.

In view of this fact, Prime Minister al-Huss added: How can General 'Awn convince people that he really supports an Arab solution, as he claims, when such a solution is based on consolidating the cease-fire? Al-Huss continued: General 'Awn continues to talk about what he calls the liberation war. An Arab solution is also based on the election of a president for the republic and the establishment of a national unity government, according to the resolution issued by the Casablanca summit, Al-Huss said. But, Al-Huss concluded, General 'Awn says that the unification of the institutions cannot be achieved before what he calls liberation.

Al-Huss Cables Arab Committee Leaders

NC2707093189 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 0900 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Prime Minister Dr Salim al-Huss has cabled the leaders of the tripartite Arab committee on the massacre being perpetrated against the citizens and blaming it on those who would be harmed by any solution.

The cable reads: We have supported and continue to support every word in the Arab summit resolution and also every step taken by the Arab committee at the leadership or ministerial level. But massacres have been perpetrated by those who would be harmed by any solution that appears on the horizon under the Arab initiative umbrella.

It has become clear that some people have no interest in what the Arab committee has gratefully embarked on. They believe that ending the crisis would mean the end of their existence and their plots. They believe that every one of the stages of the proposed Arab solution, whether through dialogue, any formula for reforms, the elections of a president of the republic, or the unification and revival of the constitutional institutions, means their death. They are the ones who are harmed by any gleam of peace that gives hope. They are the ones who fear reason and resort to arms.

Dr al-Huss added: Lebanon's cause is primarily the issue of man and his rights in his homeland. They could not kill the cause, so they are attempting to kill the people. The massacre is being perpetrated in the name of the legitimate authority, sovereignty, and liberation.

'Awn Views Ties With Other Forces, U.S.

PM2607113989 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 22 Jul 89 p 2

[Part three of interview with General Michel 'Awn, head of the Lebanese military government, by Michel Abu-Jawdah; place, date not given. Parts one and two were published on pages 35 through 38 of the 26 July Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT.]

[Text] [Abu-Jawdah] What is your relationship with the various parties in East Beirut, especially with Patriarch Sufayr? Is it one of understanding?

['Awn] It is an excellent relationship.

[Abu-Jawdah] And the deputies? Do you talk to them as you talk to us?

['Awn] They all know that. Many of them understand the situation. There was confusion at the beginning, but now they understand the situation. They must change the way in which they are handling the Lebanese crisis. They have 15 years of experience, but every time they tend to reprint the same copy. We want a new story. As for the story about going to Damascus and submitting a paper or returning with a paper, it has been consumed. Whenever a paper is submitted they burn it, then we start looking for another paper. Anyone who respects himself should not talk politics in such a manner.

[Abu-Jawdah] Is there any mutual sympathy between you and Raymon Iddih?

['Awn] Yes, of course.

[Abu-Jawdah] Raymon Iddih is showing understanding toward the rulers for the first time in 15 years. What is the secret?

['Awn] I told Radio Monte Carlo that Iddih is ignoring his own interests for the sake of strengthening national positions. Probably that is part of his method. And it is probably why people are attached to him and love him; because he is a principled man who knows that there is something called public interest, to which he gives precedence over his own interests. He has harmed himself on several occasions and refused to abandon his firm principles—which I appreciate very much. Probably he sees the same thing in me, since I am not working for personal objectives at this stage. He knows that if anyone else achieved what I have achieved, he could negotiate over many things for the sake of his personal, material, and political interests. Add to this our joint and correct diagnosis of the Lebanese disease. Occupations are the disease, and what is being treated today is the outcome. There is probably a kind of agreement over the problem and the way to resolve it, in addition to some political morality.

[Abu-Jawdah] What about the United States?

['Awn] The United States is a big machine which contains many complex cogs.

[Abu-Jawdah] Is Lebanon among them?

['Awn] The United States does not include Lebanon among its priorities.

[Abu-Jawdah] Do you consider that France gives Lebanon more priority than the United States does?

['Awn] Certainly. There is a link by virtue of its geography and historical and cultural ties. The relationship with France is more natural by virtue of cultural exchange. It is a relationship of balanced, mutual interests between us both.

[Abu-Jawdah] Some talk about the need to make the directors general a consultative council for the authority.

['Awn] I have set up a consultative council. Some members have been assigned to deal with the affairs of the education, interior, and other ministries.

[Abu-Jawdah] Can we say something about Patriarch Sufayr's position?

['Awn] A sound position. And as he said, I also say that his eminence the patriarch is a patriarch and the general is a general. They agree on the objective, but differ over the method. You will certainly not see me preaching or see the patriarch leading a battle or a war. He works through his contacts and preaching within the value which he defends. And as a military and a political official, I am also struggling to achieve the same objective: Lebanon's independence and sovereignty. Those who sympathize with his eminence's method pray with him, and those who sympathize with my method come to fight alongside me. But the final objective is the same.

[Abu-Jawdah] What are the risks of such a policy?

['Awn] No risks. I listen to everyone's view and get a clear picture of the situation from those who visit me. But even those who say that General 'Awn "has had enough and wants to leave," or those who do not want General 'Awn, will eventually come and ask me to stay because the situation requires that.

Fatah Delegation Holds Talks With Sha'ban

LD2707092189 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] A delegation from the Fatah Movement Revolutionary Council, yesterday held talks with Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, the leader of the Islamic Tawhid Movement, in Tripoli, Lebanon.

According to the report of the Central News Unit, following the meeting, the delegation announced that all the Islamic and nationalist forces of Lebanon and Palestine are dutybound to support the Islamic revolution of the people of Palestine and to help towards the progress of the jihad against the Zionists and their agents inside or outside [the occupied territories].

Stressing that the only solution to the Lebanon crisis lies in the overthrow of all the stooges of the Zionist regime with 'Awn and Ja'Ja' at their head, the said delegation declared its support for the recent Tehran statement.

Al-Shar' Receives Hizballah Leaders in Damascus

JN2607155489 Damascus SANA in Arabic
1422 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Damascus, 26 Jul (SANA)—Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' received here today Muhammad Subhi al-Tufayli and Husayn al-Musawi from the Hizballah leadership in Lebanon. During the meeting, talks centered on developments in Lebanon.

Al-Shar' Receives SFRY Envoy, Message

JN2407134789 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic
1115 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' this morning received (Nafte Charluski), envoy of the SFRY president, and received a message from him to President Hafiz al-Asad from Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency. The message includes an invitation to the president to attend the ninth conference of nonaligned countries, scheduled to be held in September in Belgrade. During the meeting, they discussed preparations for the summit.

The meeting was attended by Diya'ullah al-Fattal, assistant foreign minister; Dr Hani Habib, chief of the International Organizations Department; and the SFRY ambassador in Damascus.

Sudanese Interior Minister Meets President

EA2607122389 Khartoum SUNA in French
1625 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Damascus, 25 Jul (SUNA)—Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad on Monday received in Damascus Brigadier Faysal 'Ali Abu-Salih, National Salvation Revolution Command Council [NSRCC] member and interior minister, who delivered to him a message from General 'Umar al-Bashir, the NSRCC chairman. The message related to the latest developments in Sudan. During the meeting, Brig Faysal discussed bilateral relations with President al-Asad.

After the visit to Syria, the interior minister will go to North Yemen where he will deliver two messages to the leaders of the two countries [as received] from Gen al-Bashir on the developments in Sudan.

TISHRIN Cited on Likud-Alignment 'Charade'

JN2407111089 Damascus SANA in Arabic
0840 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Damascus, 24 Jul (SANA)—In a comment today, the newspaper TISHRIN affirms that the charade of dissolving the coalition government between the Likud and the Alignment has come to an end. It says the charade began approximately 2 weeks ago on 10 July when the Alignment threatened to withdraw from the Shamir government because of Shamir's acceptance of the conditions of Sharon, Levi, and Moda'i, and of the Likud's adoption of these conditions.

The paper refers to the new agreement to approve the Shamir plan for elections under occupation in the occupied territories to find representatives to negotiate an administrative self-rule formula in accordance with the Camp David accords, and to liquidate and terminate the intifadah [uprising].

The paper wonders: Does this mean that the Shamir government still believes that by marketing its political maneuvers it can break the international isolation placed on it by the intifadah and its continuation and escalation?

The paper explains that the intifadah has toppled Shamir's plan as well as his maneuvers to promote and market this plan. It says that the charade over the slight disagreement between the Likud and the Alignment is part of these maneuvers to force the Arabs to offer further concessions and to show self-rule as the ceiling that cannot be exceeded even by one step, according to the Israeli claims and allegations.

The paper affirms that the disagreement which surfaced on the political scene in the Zionist entity is merely the outcome of the inability and failure to terminate the intifadah. It affirms that the only disagreement among all Zionist leaders is whether to handle the priority of halting the intifadah through political or terrorist means.

The paper believes that it is not a coincidence that at the end of the charade of dissolving the Shamir government an additional $75 million was allocated to confront the increased expenses of confronting the intifadah. This was at the same government meeting which agreed to reendorse the Shamir plan as the Zionist entity's official policy.

The paper concludes that all that is taking place in the Zionist entity falls within the process of distributing roles—a process which exposes Zionist deception, maneuvers, and lies to achieve the Zionist entity's expansionist objectives and interim and long-term ambitions alike.

Afghanistan

Kawiani on 'Secret Peace Talks' With Opposition

LD2607183189 Kuwait KUNA in English 1730 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 26 (KUNA)—A high ranking Afghan official Wednesday announced that secret peace talks, arranged by the PLO and other Arab sides, have been conducted between Kabul government and the Afghan opposition in a number of Arab capitals.

Talking exclusively to KUNA, head of the foreign relations committee at the Afghan parliament and member of the Politburo of the ruling party Najmuddin Kawiani said that leaders of the Afghan opposition, whom he met secretly prefer their identities remain undisclosed and so the nature of talks between them.

Kawiani, who started on Tuesday [25 July] an official visit to Yugoslavia, told KUNA that Baghdad, Tripoli and Tunis had hosted meetings of the government and the opposition's representatives.

He pointed out that he met Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat in Prague lately to arrange for a new round of talks between the Afghan Government and the opposition through 'Arafat's mediation, affirming that a new round of peace talks is to take place soon in Tunis.

'Arafat's proposal to convene a direct meeting between all Afghan disputed parties in Pakistan for national reconciliation could have been surfaced had foreign power not interfered to abort it, the official went on. He called for a general and public gathering for all Afghan conflicting parties in the attendance of the international press in order to learn who wants peace and who doesn't.

Kawiani reiterated Kabul's call for a national reconciliation and holding free democratic parliamentary elections to form the Afghan national government.

About recognition of his government, Kawiani said there are 80 countries which recognize Kabul government and maintain diplomatic relations against three or four countries which recognize the opposition.

Whether Kabul government was invited to attend the summit of the non-aligned countries due to open here on September, he said it was officially invited and would be represented at the highest level.

Mojadeddi: Rebels 'Will Not Give In' to Pressure

BK2707005889 Hong Kong AFP in English 1744 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Islamabad, July 26 (AFP)—The president of the mujahidin interim government, Sebghatullah Mojaddedi, warned Wednesday that his government would not give in to pressure from foreign powers. "We will fight for another 10 years, but never give in to communist or any other power," he said in an interview with the resistance-run Afghan Media Resource Centre (AMRC). "The elimination of the Islamic interim government of Afghanistan from inside and outside is difficult," he said.

The statement from Mr. Mojaddedi, considered a moderate reeistance leader, followed a strong warning by interim government prime minister, 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf over the weekend to "friends" of the mujahidin against the "dangerous consequences" of interfering in its affairs. He also warned against attempts to force any new government on them.

Mr. Sayyaf issued the statement after Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati held talks with Pakistani leaders last week which officials said were marked by a "complete identity of views" on finding a political solution to the problem.

He did not name the friends, but Afghan observers said it was intended to warn Iran, Pakistan and the United States against taking any decision without involving the mujahidin.

The Afghan interim government, set up in February, "enjoys support of the vast majority but some conspiracies are being hatched to create problems while the enemies engaged in all sorts of propaganda campaign against it," he explained.

In his statement Mr. Mojaddedi warned that any understanding reached between the two super powers in their talks in Stockholm on July 31 would remain futile "if our suggestions are not accepted."

The Kabul government is backed by Moscow, while the mujahidin receive support from the United States and Pakistan.

Efforts for talks with the seven Pakistan-based mujahidin groups who make up the interim government have failed over the thorny question of participation of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), spurned by the mujahidin as a "Soviet puppet." Kabul, on the other hand, has refused to consider suggestions that the PDPA step aside to help bring about a political settlement.

Mr. Mojaddedi also claimed the Soviet Union, which withdrew the last of its troops from Afghanistan in February, had not "withdrawn completely," and was continuing to provide practical support for the Kabul government. "They are indirectly involved (in) the Afghan war as still there are thousands of Soviet military advisers, pilots and Scud missile experts," he said, adding that Moscow was regularly sending aircraft loaded with military supplies for the government.

He also condemned an internecine fight between the Hezb-e Eslami group of Golbuddin Hekmatyar and the Jamiyat-e Eslami of Burhanuddin Rabbani in which 30 Jamiyat mujahidin and field commanders were reportedly killed July 9 in an ambush by members of Mr. Hekmatyar's group in northern Takhar Province. "I and all other Muslims condemn this action," he said adding that "it is against humanity, morality and human sentiments."

The interim government cabinet would soon discuss the incident in detail and send an investigative team to fix responsibility for the incident and award "severest punishment to the accused under Islamic laws," he said.

Fierce Fighting Reported in 6 Provinces 26 Jul

BK2607155789 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] There are reports of fierce fighting between the mujahidin and Kabul regime forces in six provinces of Afghanistan. In Kabul, the mujahidin attacked the Special Guards personnel and destroyed a mortar cannon and wounded four soldiers.

In Nangarhar Province, 17 Kabul regime soldiers were killed and 26 wounded. In Balkh Province, the mujahidin captured a post near Mazar-e Sharif where 15 Kabul regime soldiers joined mujahidin ranks.

Reports say that Kabul regime forces have suffered heavy losses in men and material at the hands of mujahidin in Vardak, Paktia, and Qandahar Provinces as well.

25 Jul Clashes With 'Extremists' Reported

LD2607084189 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0518 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul, July 25, BAKHTAR—The extremist elements fired rockets today on Jalalabad city, Khowst District and on the provinces of Qandahar and Herat as a result of which four military personnel and three civilians including two women were killed. In the counter-attacks by the Afghan Armed Forces, 67 enemies were killed and 74 injured two caches of the enemies were also destroyed in the said places.

Two groups of highway robbers, one in the course of Kabul-Gardeyz highway and another in the related areas of Dowshi District Baghlan Province were crushed leaving behind (?61) dead and 12 injured.

According to another report, in a counter-attack by the Afghan Armed Forces in Meydan Shahr, centre of Vardak Province, 160 enemies were killed and some injured.

'Wahhabis' Reportedly Try To Kidnap Girls

LD2707084189 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] BAKHTAR's military section reports that a number of Saudi Wahhabis, in collaboration with the murders of our people, attacked (Shahi Kowt) village, (Rodat) District, Nangarhar Province, and attempted to take young girls forcibly to Pakistan. In order to defend their honor and pride, the courageous people of this village stood up and inflicted deadly blows on the Arab Wahhabis and their collaborators, as a result of which four Wahhabis were killed and a number were wounded.

The report adds that a number of men of the armed opposition group joined the people of these villages and took active part in this righteous jihad. Fierce clashes are underway at the very moment to repulse the Wahhabis and their collaborators from (Rodat) District.

Pakistan Charge Summoned; Organized March Denied

LD2707080389 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0509 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul, July 26, BAKHTAR—Charge d'affaires of the Pakistani Embassy in Kabul was summoned to the Foreign Ministry here today and the following was conveyed to him by the (?caretaker) of the First Political Department:

On July 22, 1989 the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan summoned the charge d'affaires of the Republic of Afghanistan in Islamabad and conveyed to him that the march of the large groups of Kabul citizens to the Pakistani Embassy and staging demonstrations against the embassy and submitting pen letters to the Pakistani authorities were organized as if by the state of the Republic of Afghanistan, and the Pakistani Government can resort to counter action as well.

The people of the world are witnessing the unforgiveable crimes committed by the murderers against the people of Afghanistan and the clear Pakistani interventions in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The reaction of the people of Afghanistan is fully based on their anger and indignation against Pakistan which sends death and destruction [to] their country, not on the plan and order of the state of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Hence from threat of the Pakistani authorities to resort to the counter action and staging demonstrations against the Embassy of the Republic of Afghanistan in Islamabad, we can draw the conclusion that by such pretentions the Pakistani authorities want to divert the world public opinion in spite of increasing indignation towards its crimes and interventions.

While the Republic of Afghanistan once again draws attention of the Pakistani authorities to the grave consequences of its interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the repeated violations of the Geneva

Accords, rejects the claim of Pakistani authorities as if the state of Afghanistan has organized the march of the people to the Pakistani Embassy in Kabul and expressing their indignation to the crimes against the people of Afghanistan. [sentence as received]

Increased U.S. Arms Supplies to Rebels Deplored

LD2207095889 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 22 Jul 89

["BIA Commentary"—BAKHTAR headline]

[Text] Kabul, July 21, BAKHTAR—BAKHTAR political observer writes: In present-day conditions in which the Republic of Afghanistan (RA) all-sidedly strives for ending war, bloodshed and ensurance of peace in the country, the United States as one of international supporters of extremists, has decided to increase the volume of its arms supply to the Afghan armed opposition.

The United States by trampling under feet all its international obligations and violating the Geneva Accords, further intensifies war in Afghanistan in order to prevent political solution of the Afghan issue.

The war-mongering extremists backed by U.S.-Pakistan militarists, following their severe defeats in various parts of the country have intensified their attacks on the provincial centres of the RA.

The extremists by getting destructive weapons intend, of course at the behest of their international supporters to change Afghanistan into a battle field. These U.S. assistance will add more to the griefs of our people. It is interesting that United States publishes annually lengthy reports on human rights, freedom and democracy, but supplies extremists with annihilated weapons for killing civilians.

Recently, Peter Tomsen, special envoy of the United States for the extremist so-called interim government stated in an interview that the United States will continue its military assistance to the Mujahidin as it did in the past. According to the report of daily WASHINGTON POST and expressions of a highranking American authority, the United States has decided to equip extremists with long-range missiles having great destructive potential. Our compatriots are witnessed that extremists in the past downed civilian planes by utilizing U.S. made rockets.

The Afghans who are fed up of war and fratricide hope that the United States as a great power of the world review vis-a-vis Afghanistan and avoid delivery of destructive weapons to extremists. [sentence as received]

It is now necessary that the United States should realise and fulfil its commitments in regard to the provisions of the Geneva accords.

The war-torn Afghan people urgently demand that the constructive proposals of President Najibullah, on the demilitarisation of Afghanistan, collection of the arms from the Afghan territory and their delivery to the producers be fulfilled. Humanistic assistance must be rendered to Afghanistan which sustained considerable losses during the past 10 years of war.

We hope that the United States instead of arms delivery and continuation of war on the Afghan soil help Afghanistan in its socioeconomic rehabilitation both in the framework of international mechanism of the United Nations and its assistance and on the basis of the bilateral relations between Afghanistan and the United States. Our people demand us and world public opinions to spare no efforts in stopping war in our country and solving Afghan issue through peaceful means.

Najibullah Attacks Pakistan, U.S. in Interview

AU2507152889 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 22-23 Jul 89 p 10

[Interview with Dr Najibullah, president of the Afghan Revolutionary Council, by Olaf Ihlau in Kabul: "We All Have To Come Together; the Revolution Leader Warns Pakistan Against the Flashing Over of the Flame of War"; date not given]

[Text] SZ: For weeks, Kabul has been attacked with missiles; car bombs have exploded in its center. Are the government's Armed Forces not able to counter the mujahidin's offensive?

Najibullah: Unfortunately, missile and bomb attacks have claimed heavy casualties in Kabul. All this starts from Pakistani territory, and this is really not a military offensive, but sheer terrorism. We do everything to prevent this.

SZ: This morning, a school was directly hit. Fortunately, the holidays had been moved forward. A child was killed while playing. If classes had been held, many would have certainly been killed.

Najibullah: You had better blame the Americans and Pakistanis who supply these missiles. At present, in the name of humanity, the Americans do everything in their power to achieve the release of a U.S. journalist who illegally sneaked into the country. However, if innocent civilians become the victims of American missiles here, the same fighters for human rights are silent.

SZ: However, there are also people in Kabul who believe that some of these missiles are launched from government positions, maybe by opponents within the regime, to foment a psychosis in the capital.

Najibullah: This is really pathological and absurd. What government would like to demonstrate its own weakness? In the past the Soviets were blamed. This comes clearly from the other side's propaganda arsenal in the department for psychological warfare. Everybody in Afghanistan knows who stands for peace and who stands for war.

SZ: You think that Pakistan, the transit country for the mujahidin's arms supply, is mainly to blame for these attacks and threaten it with "destructive blows." Do you want to enter into a war with Pakistan?

Najibullah: Pakistan is increasingly working itself up for a war against Afghanistan. Pakistani militias are fighting together with the extremists (meaning the mujahidin—the editors) against our troops in the border area. Some operations are directed right from Islamabad—for example, the frustrated attempt to conquer Jalalabad. This is going on and has attained dangerous dimensions in the meantime, so that Pakistan also has to be prepared for the flame of war to flash to its own territory. This could very quickly result in a greater regional conflict, and the responsibility would rest with the Pakistani Government.

SZ: What do such sinister threats mean? Do you want to attack the north Pakistani border town of Peshawar, where the mujahidin have their headquarters, with your Scud missiles?

Najibullah: We want peace. However, if military operations are forced on us, we know how to defend ourselves—by all means available to us. We also have our friends.

SZ: You demand more and better weapons, the MIG-29 for example, from these Soviet friends. The mujahidin will make similar demands on the United States, which will probably fulfill them. Instead of a de-escalation of the conflict, there would be a new round of rearmament for a fight to the last Afghan.

Najibullah: We have said a thousand times that there is no military solution to this conflict. We proposed an armistice, national reconciliation, and even Afghanistan's demilitarization with certain international guarantees and the proviso that all weapons will be transported back to their countries of origin. Moreover, our country and the Soviet Union suggested several times simultaneously stopping the arms supplies to both sides. However, all these proposals were rejected by the leaders of the alliance of resistance and their international sponsors. Their slogan is: War, continuation of war. Thus, Pakistan and the United States deliberately violate the Geneva Agreement signed by them. They want to make a big-stick policy. Therefore we can do nothing but better arm ourselves, too. Self-defense must be allowed.

SZ: On the other hand, one need not be a cynic to understand that the mujahidin first want to improve their military position before taking their place at the negotiating table.

Najibullah: Some people in the West thought that we would survive for only a few hours, now we have already fought for a whole season. We will see this through. Yet what kind of magic will work after 5 or 7 months if it did not work 5 months ago? The military option is not feasible for any side; I stated this already at the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal. It is a crime to further rely on war and bloodshed.

SZ: How fast could the conflict end if the superpowers were to agree to stop the arms supplies?

Najibullah: We would immediately call an armistice and start negotiations with the opposition. Then a transition government could be established on a broad basis, and a new constitution, on which a large tribal assembly (Loya Jirgah) would have to decide, could be developed. And then there would have to be elections in which all political forces should participate.

SZ: Elections under international supervision?

Najibullah: We would not object to this. Last night I heard the Voice of America....

SZ: ...Well, but you also listen to radio stations...

Najibullah: Yes, it dealt with Nicaragua. It was stated that in the beginning the United States wanted to support the revolution there with $180 million. But since Nicaragua did not remain on its democratic course, this help was stopped, it was stated. This is strange: We here in Afghanistan are in favor of democratic elections and pluralism, however, not we, but those who advocate a military solution are supported. Nice principles.

SZ: What share does your Democratic People's Party claim in a national coalition government? Should it be the dominant power?

Najibullah: This is not a question of mathematical formulas, but of individual potential and competence. The negotiations will have to show to what extent each political party will participate.

SZ: Would you be ready to resign as president and not impede such a coalition?

Najibullah: The exclusion of certain persons or parties from this process beforehand would not serve national reconciliation. We all have to come together.

SZ: The mujahidin find this extremely difficult among themselves, as drastically demonstrated by the latest reports on a massacre between followers of fundamentalist Hikmatyar and Commander Mas'ud.

Najibullah: This event shows again that these people only stand for strife and that they feud among themselves and are encouraged from the outside. We Afghans would come together if foreign forces did not constantly interfere.

SZ: It was attempted to bring in the exiled former king, Zahir Shah, as a mediator. But the monarch is hesitating to commit himself. Has he missed his entry?

Najibullah: There would still be sufficient opportunities for the former king to take a meritorious role. We would support any attempt by Zahir Shah to put an end to bloodshed and war in our country.

SZ: Most Western states closed their embassies in Kabul because they expected your government to collapse after the Soviet troop withdrawal. This is obviously out of the question now. Do you hope that the Western missions will be reopened in the near future?

Najibullah: Security issues were only a pretext. The walk-out of the Western countries was part of the psychological warfare and was to exert more political pressure on us. In the meantime, other countries which did not adhere to Washington's line, such as Iran, have extended their relations with us. The Western states should also think their policies over and decide to return to Kabul.

SZ: However, nobody is likely to return as long as Kabul is showered with missiles.

Najibullah: In accordance with the Vienna convention on the protection of diplomats, we would do anything to guarantee their security. Terror attacks are committed all over the world.

SZ: Do you want West German teachers to return to the Amani school in Kabul?

Najibullah: We would welcome this, and this cooperation should not be restricted to the cultural sector, but be extended to other fields.

Politburo Member on 'Complicated' Situation

LD2107224789 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Interview with Najmuddin Kawiani, Politburo member and secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, by unidentified correspondent with superimposed Slovak translation—announcer read]

[Text] As you surely know, the situation in our country continues to be very complicated. This is particularly so because the United States, Pakistan, and some other countries are doing things that only increase tension. Only yesterday voices could be heard in those countries that it was the Soviets who were responsible for the state of war in Afghanistan, and they cited the presence of the Soviet troops as a reason. On the basis of the Geneva accords, the Soviet troops were withdrawn, but this has not altered the situation at all. I would say that the truth about our Army's morale has been shown. Even the other side recognizes today that the collapse of morale and disintegration can be found, rather, in the opposition ranks. A section of the opposition has linked up with us while another one is marking time. Our policy is open to all. We have held talks with the opposition in Pakistan, Iran, and directly in Afghanistan. We have signed several agreements with them. We want only one thing: to achieve peace in Afghanistan.

[Question] On a question about what is happening in Jalalabad, the second biggest Afghan center, Comrade Kawiani replied:

[Answer] Representatives of the opposition and U.S. advisers, including the U.S. ambassador to Pakistan met in Islamabad on 5 March. Their final verdict was as follows: the city would fall by 10 March at the latest. The population and our Army have, however, repulsed all attacks. Jalalabad is not merely a military defeat for the opposition groups. It is a defeat also for the U.S., Pakistani, and other services and, of course, for their whole political concept. Four months of merciless fighting have shown at the same time that the road of force only leads to an impass.

[Question] The third question concerned prospects for the further solution of the open questions concerning Afghanistan.

[Answer] When the Soviet troops were in fact withdrawing, it could be seen that the opposition was disintegrating. All those who talked about the great unity of their ranks convinced themselves of the opposite. At the same time, it was shown that the opposition units were incapable of achieving military victories. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan had already come up with the policy of national conciliation 3 years ago. Despite this, many Western countries closed down their embassies in Kabul and thought that they would be able to open them a few days later in Jalalabad. Once again, I stress that nothing of this kind happened. This is why I take this opportunity to appeal to the governments and people of all peace-loving states to compel the United States and Pakistan to alter their policy toward Afghanistan.

India

Ship Near Colombo, Ready To Evacuate Diplomats

BK2707060689 Hong Kong AFP in English 0549 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] New Delhi, July 27 (AFP)—The Indian Aircraft Carrier, INS Virat, is standing by outside territorial waters off Colombo with a contingent of commandos ready to evacuate Indian diplomats from Sri Lanka should the need arise, press reports said here Thursday.

A Defence Ministry spokesman here declined comment on the report, saying, "we would like to know more about it (the ship's presence) ourselves."

The INDIA ABROAD NEWS SERVICE (IANS), quoting well placed sources, said the commandos could move into Colombo in 20 minutes if there was any threat to the lives of the diplomats.

The commandos would take off from the Virat aboard helicopters and land on Galle Face, a beach near the hotel where Indian diplomats have been moved, the report said. "It will be a swift, in and out operation," IANS said.

Families of most Indian diplomats have left the country in advance of a July 29 deadline set by Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa for 45,000 Indian troops to leave the island nation.

Bombs exploded in two Indian banks in Colombo Wednesday as the Janatha Vimukhti Peramuna (JVP or People's Liberation Front) warned of stepped up violence if 45,000 Indian troops do not leave the island nation by the July 29 deadline set by Colombo. Some 60 diplomats and staff, plus some Indian journalists, moved into the safety of hotels Wednesday soon after the banks were bombed.

The JVP, a Sinhalese rebel group, is violently opposed to the 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan accord under which Indian soldiers were sent to Sri Lanka's Tamil-dominated north and east to end a bloody Tamil separatist campaign. India had earlier this month reportedly informed Colombo that it would make its own plans to safeguard its diplomats if Colombo could not protect them from JVP militants.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has rejected the July 29 deadline, saying the time-table for troop withdrawal should be negotiated by the two sides.

IANS said the commander of the Indian Peace Keeping Force, Lt. Gen. A.S. Kalkat, is believed to have discussed the security situation with his Sri Lankan counterpart, Lt. Gen. Hamilton Wanasinghe, before leaving for Trincomalee Wednesday.

'Navy Sources' Confirm Location

BK2707091089 Hong Kong AFP in English 0858 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Excerpt] New Delhi, July 27 (AFP)—India's latest aircraft carrier and a landing ship were poised off the country's south-west tip Thursday amid reports that their presence was a part of an evacuation plan from Sri Lanka.

Official naval sources here said the British-built carrier INS Virat and a naval landing ship tank (LST) were in a heave-to position off India's Cochin Port instead of docking as per Wednesday's schedule.

The government officially maintains that the carrier is undergoing advanced sea-trials and that it could be used for relief operations in the flood-hit southern coastal state of Kerala. But it had kept a secret that an LST had been accompanying the Virat since it sailed from Bombay July 19 heading on a southerly course for the Indian Ocean. An LST can travel faster than a carrier and can land troops or equipment in either high or low tides.

A naval spokesman admitted that Virat was off India's south-west tip but said it had not docked in Cochin harbour Wednesday because of a choppy sea. [passage omitted]

Delhi Viewed as Taking Dominant Regional Role

BK2707072689 Hong Kong AFP in English 0718 GMT 27 Jul 89

[By Marie-France Rouze]

[Text] New Delhi, July 27 (AFP)—The crisis between Sri Lanka and India, due to come to a head Saturday, reflects New Delhi's view of itself as the dominant regional power and its need to maintain the image in an election year.

Alongside souring relations with Colombo on one front, New Delhi is also engaged in a show of force with Nepal after several decades of harmonious relations.

"India has begun looking at itself as a country that is not to be messed with," a Western diplomat said.

New Delhi flatly rejected a demand by Colombo to withdraw the 45,000 troops it has stationed in northern Sri Lanka by Saturday. The troops are there under a bilateral accord signed in July 1987, and New Delhi contends that the terms of the agreement have not been entirely fulfilled.

The accord was aimed at bringing an end to a bloody separatist campaign by Tamils in the north and east of Sri Lanka. The Tamils have since been given limited autonomy, but New Delhi says it is not enough.

World powers welcomed the 1987 accord, which New Delhi interpreted as legitimizing India's involvement in the internal affairs of its southern island neighbour because of the strong ties between the Tamils of Sri Lanka, numbering some two million, and those of southern India, primarily in the state of Tamil Nadu.

The Indian press has noted that Mr. Gandhi's government cannot back down on its refusal to withdraw the troops because of the risk of losing face during an election year.

But prestige is not all that is at stake. An advisor to Mr. Gandhi said that a troop pullout could lead to ruthless bloodshed as rival Tamil groups settle scores among themselves, and to an influx of refugees into India. "How would he explain that to the voters?" the advisor asked.

India is also at an impasse with Nepal, imposing a near-total blockade of their common border at the end of March, impeding the flow of essential commodities into the landlocked country wedged between India and China.

The conflict has apparently grown out of Nepal's steady efforts to shake off the stranglehold that India has had over it since a peace and friendship treaty the two signed in 1950.

Relations with India's neighbor to the northwest, Pakistan, have begun to improve with the emergence in December of Benazir Bhutto as Pakistan's premier. But a longstanding rivalry that brought the two countries to war three times since 1947 persists, and disputes over Kashmir and the Siachen Glacier are still festering.

During a July 17 visit by Mr. Gandhi to Islamabad, Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan spoke openly of "Indian hegemony," saying: "The impression may be wrong, but it is necessary to remove it." But "Indians are convinced that no big power can attack them on their regional policies," a Western diplomat said.

The pervasive sense, diplomats say, is that India has the right to dabble in internal affairs anywhere in the Asian Subcontinent, be it Sri Lanka, Nepal or the Maldives, where India intervened to quell an attempted coup last November.

Analysts stress that India has had to pay dearly for the image of power, sacrificing the pacifist and moral image portrayed by founding father Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence.

India's influence in the region now hinges on its economic supremacy, and especially its military clout, they add. Military spending has nearly tripled since 1980, reaching 14 per cent of the national budget, or 8.6 billion dollars, for the current fiscal year. The government has also forfeited popular consensus on foreign policy, and now faces divided public opinion on India's role as the policeman of the subcontinent, observers say.

Natwar Singh on U.S. Sale of F-16's to Pakistan

BK2607085689 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The U.S. Administration has proposed security assistance amounting to 241 million dollars for the financial year 1990 for Pakistan. The minister of state for external affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, told the Rajya Sabha today that the package includes the sale of 60 more F-16 aircraft to Pakistan. He said India has on a number of occasions told the United States of its concern that American supply of sophisticated armament in excess of Pakistan's legitimate defense requirement leads to arms race in the subcontinent.

In reply to a separate question, the minister said India has also expressed serious concern from time to time regarding Pakistan's nuclear weapons program.

Gandhi on Elections, Opposition Resignations

BK2607163689 Delhi Doordarshan Television Network in English 1600 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has indicated that elections to the Lok Sabha would be held on time. Mr Gandhi was speaking informally to newsmen in New Delhi this evening.

Answering a question regarding the present session of the Lok Sabha, Mr Gandhi said the Congress-I will go through with the business of the House. However, he did not specify whether the present session is the last one or not before the election.

Referring to the resignations of some opposition members from the Lok Sabha, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said it is incredible that left and right parties joined hands, forgetting their policies and ideologies. He said it was not in the best interest of the country.

10 More Lok Sabha Opposition Members Resign

BK2607160389 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Ten more Lok Sabha members belonging to some opposition parties resigned today raising the total to 92. The speaker, Mr Bal Ram Jakhar, accepted the resignations. This was announced by the deputy speaker, Mr Thambi Durai, in the House this evening.

Defense Minister Speaks on Bofors in Parliament

BK2607145989 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1430 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The defense minister, Mr K.C. Pant, has said that Mr V.P. Singh must accept responsibility in the Bofors gun deal as he was the then finance minister and has specifically approved the purchase of the gun. Mr Pant was replying to the debate on the relevant paragraphs of the CAG [Comptroller and Auditor General] report on the howitzer gun deal in the Lok Sabha today. Mr V.P. Singh was also responsible in his capacity as a member of the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs, which was also involved in the decision to purchase the 155 mm gun.

Describing the Bofors gun as the most suitable one in both adverse and normal conditions, Mr Pant renewed the invitation to the Lok Sabha members, including those who have resigned, to watch for themselves the actual performance of the gun in operational conditions.

Mr Pant said there is no indictment of the prime minister or the government in the CAG report. He criticized the statement issued by the opposition members explaining their mass resignation from the House and said there is no substance in it.

Iran

Mohtashemi on Election Plans, Drug Addiction

LD2607191589 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1700 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Twenty-six thousand polling booths throughout the country will be ready on 28 July for the voting in the fifth presidential elections and the referendum on the constitutional amendments. Interior Minister Mohtashami announced this in an interview with the central news unit. He said the headquarters in charge of holding the elections, in order to provide facilities for tribal people, will provide mobile booths in inaccessible places, as well as on country roads to provide facilities for travellers. He added that to ensure the security of the elections in provincial capitals and cities, special headquarters have been set up on the basis of the decisions of the National Security Council with the task of ensuring security during the elections.

Concerning the start of the second phase of the antinarcotics campaign plan, Mr Mohtashemi said that labor camps and rehabilitation centers of the country are ready to admit guilty addicts throughout the country, adding that during the 6 months when the addicts were provided with the opportunity to get rid of their addiction, according to the reports that have been received, following tests that have been carried out on the addicts in some provinces, more than 50 percent of known addicts have been able to give up their addiction.

Grand Ayatollahs Urge People To Vote

LD2707095389 Tehran IRNA in English 0915 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 27, IRNA—On the eve of the fifth presidential polls in Islamic Iran, the top three grand ayatollahs have called on Iranian people to actively participate in Friday's elections and the referendum for constitutional amendments.

In his statements, Grand Ayatollah Mohammad 'Ali Araki said today, that voting on Friday is a religious duty for every Iranian individual.

A similar statement was issued by Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Reza Golpaygani, who said that mass turn out for the polls will definitely lead to further strengthening of the system, consolidation of Islamic solidarity and the disappointment of enemies.

He also expressed hope that divine rules will be fully implemented and welfare and security will be guaranteed for all.

The third grand Ayatollah Shahabeddin Mar'ashi Najafi urged Iranians to prove to the world that they will continue to tread the path of the Islamic Republic's founder Imam Komeyni.

The nation is go to polls tomorrow, the 28th of July, and the popular Majlis speaker Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani is likely to emerge as the new president of the Islamic Republic.

'Great Expectations' Noted for Majlis Speaker

NC2507105889 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 18 Jul 89 p 2

[Editorial: "Next Cabinet Easy Job for Rafsanjani"]

[Text] With ten days to go for presidential elections this July 28, all the cards seem stacked in favor of Majlis Speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani for the presidential choice. He commands wide popularity both in political and non-political circles in Iran. What comes next will of course be the composition of the cabinet, which surely will play a vital part in the future course the nation will take.

To select a cabinet is not often an easy task, but for would-be president Hashemi-Rafsanjani with his political acumen, his popularity with most political groupings, his long experience in administrative, military and, most importantly, legislative affairs there can be no foreseeably difficult problem.

It is expected in terms of recent constitutional revisions that a deputy president to replace the present prime minister will be chosen by the president, and the person will find an important place in the cabinet without need for Majlis approval as for other cabinet nominees of the president.

As for the president's other cabinet nominees, he will no doubt weigh and take into consideration differing shades of opinion in the Majlis or Parliament and in all likelihood will consult Majlis deputies and Majlis Commissions before making final choices.

All things point to the fact a good many in the present cabinet will find places in the new body which will work under the direction and direct guidance of the new president. The Majlis has earlier approved many in the present cabinet and so are bound to approve at least more than half the present cabinet team. Vacant places of those dropped will no doubt be filled by consensus between the president, the leader of the nation and the Majlis consulting together.

What appears most promising in the composition of the next cabinet is the fact that the would-be future president will have a team selected by consensus first with the leader of the nation and then with the various groups in the Majlis. If the system works out as envisaged, the president will be able to carry out his executive functions in an efficiently coordinated manner and be able to take untrammeled executive decisions vital to the efficient rephasing and reconstruction for development in the nation.

Great expectations are placed by all on the almost certain future president, Hashemi-Rafsanjani and it is hoped he will steer a wise course in all things as he has in the past and that he and his team with the counsel, guidance and blessings of the Leader Ayatollah Khamene'i will take the nation forward to a new destiny.

Boycott of Constitutional Referendum Urged

LD2607211189 (Clandestine) Iran's Flag of Freedom Radio in Persian 0330 GMT 26 Jul 89

["Text" of message from Dr Manuchehr Ganji, secretary general of the Flag of Freedom Organization, addressed to the people of Iran—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots. The Islamic Republic regime resorts, every now and then, to a new ploy to occupy people's mind and thereby divert attention from its ugly deeds and incompetence. At times, these ploys are aimed at covering up their sinister intentions. The ploy of amending the Constitution has been put into action solely for the purpose of securing the (?oppressive) aspirations of the sinister revolution of the Velayat-e Faqih [Supremacy of Jurisconsul]. What is being totally ignored in the midst of all this is the future and the well-being of the Iranian nation.

Compatriots! Amending the Constitution of the Islamic Republic—a law which for the past 10 years the regime portrayed as the deliverer of mankind and the manifestation of divine edicts and Islamic laws, and a law which, if opposed by anyone, brought calls of blasphemy upon them by the regime who would term them as enemies of God—is a useless thing, from the point of view of the Iranian people, at a time when our dear Iran is facing a thousand problems. Have all the problems been solved and eliminated? Have the war refugees and homeless found permanent homes? Has adequate attention been paid to the families of martyrs and war wounded? Have the unemployed found employment? Is the condition of civil servants and those in educational establishments satisfactory? Has rationing ended? Is there no repression in the country? Is this regime (?capable) of rebuilding the ruins and damages? And is there nothing else to be done but amend the Constitution? Is this regime reliant on the vote of the nation? Has it taken into consideration the viewpoints of the nation to revise its Constitution which should be the most important task of the regime?

Khomeyni has, personally, appointed (?20) people, and he has given permission to people who have found their way to the Islamic Consultative Assembly under the title of people's deputies, to come forward with five people and alter the Constitution behind closed doors in accordance with the desires of the ruling clique. The referendum is nothing but a formality. It is a means by which they want to declare to the world that more than 90 percent of the people of Iran approve the amendments which have been already decided upon and endorsed.

Compatriots! Women, men, freedom-seekers. If the people's vote was of any importance and counted for anything, we would have advised you to go, to vote and say no to the remaining, bankrupt Constitution of this bloodsucking anti-Iran regime. But, we all know too clearly that this is not the case and that the casting of votes will be conducted in such a manner as to force people to use the blue and [word indistinct] voting slip due to fear of arrest, imprisonment, and torture. It is due to this very reason that today, there is only one way to neutralize the manipulations of the regime and show to the world that the regime of the Islamic Republic has not, right from the very first day, been approved by the people or been the guarantor of the happiness of our people—nor will it be in the future—and to tell the bankrupt inheritors of Khomeyni that we know what they are up to and that if they have embarked on revising their own Constitution it is because they want to secure their future after the death of Khomeyni. We have a decisive firm way of boycotting the elections, not entering the polling stations, not going out on the day that the referendum is taking place.

Compatriots! This criminal bunch has a lot of experience when it comes to propaganda and scaring people. People may think that if they do not participate in the elections, they will not be given coupons for food. Or, that they may be identified. This is not true. They spread these kinds of rumors to create fear. If you are in doubt, go and ask thousands and thousands of Iranians, who have, in the past, not participated in the regime's referendums and have also received their coupons. Our extensive unity and solidarity, all of us, in refraining from appearing at the ballot boxes, will remove the possibility of any kind of reaction by the regime. The regime is today, more than ever, alone and in a state of defeat.

Compatriots! Freedom seekers! Boycott the sinister elections and referendum at this crucial juncture in the national struggle; talk to each other and inform each other. The boycott of the referendum is a strong blow delivered by you to the devious gang whose sole aim is to consolidate its own position. It is the duty of every Iranian lover of their homeland, every freedom seeker and aware Iranian, today, to boycott these elections and referendum. Once again we should show to the world that the aware nation of Iran has separated its path from those who have remained behind after Khomeyni in the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. We will never again be deceived by the propaganda and (?lies) of this clique. The problem facing Iran today is not the problem of amending or revising the Constitution of the Islamic Republic. The problem is that this present regime should be replaced by a popular and truly Iranian system.

* Commentary on Reappraisal of Constitution

46400088 Tehran RESALAT in Persian
13 May 89 p 5

Part I

[Text] Recently, his holiness the imam, in a letter to the president, designated a council to deal with the problems and shortcomings of the Constitution. In this letter, His Holiness the Imam stressed:

Most of the officials, insiders, and experts in the sacred government of the Islamic Republic of Iran believe, after ten years of observation and practical experience managing the country, that the Constitution, although it has very good and enduring strengths, also has shortcomings and problems which were given little attention during its compilation and ratification because of the fiery atmosphere at the beginning of the triumph of the revolution and the lack of precise understanding of society's executive problems. Fortunately, however, after two or three years this very issue of the Constitution was discussed in various circles. Eliminating its problems is an unavoidable necessity for our Islamic and revolutionary society. Delays in this have too often brought on calamities and bitter consequences for the country and the revolution. Based on my sense of religious and national obligation, I have been thinking about solving this problem for some time, but the war and other problems have prevented it.

The reality is that the Constitution, which can be called the nation's 'blood price,' despite its many strengths, also has problems in the executive and organizational areas.

The Constitution's strengths, which the Imam has called "very good and enduring," are mainly in its general orientations and aspirations, as well as its policies and directions. If we want to list these strengths, we can cite the following:

1. The principle of government and vice-Regency of the chief theologian under all conditions in the government of the Islamic Republic.

2. Article Four of the Constitution, in which it is announced: All civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political, and other laws and regulations must be based on Islamic criteria. This principle applies absolutely or generally to all articles of the Constitution and to all laws and regulations, and it is the duty of the theologians of the Council of Guardians to exercise discretion in this matter.

3. All the principles in Article One (general remarks) and Article Two (the nation's official language, script, history, and flag) and especially Article Three, which mentions the rights of the nation and individual and social freedom and Article Four, in which is mentioned the uprooting of oppression and deprivation, as well as Article Ten, which specifies the principles and regulations of foreign policy, are among the Constitution's strengths.

4. The foresight to provide an organization called the Council of Guardians, which sees that the nation's laws conform to the sacred body of religious law and has the right of veto in the event of deviation, are also among the glories of the Constitution.

5. The foresight to provide the powerful organization the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps.

6. Emphasis on independence of justice, the judicial power, and the nation's judges, which guarantees the prevalence of justice and Islamic fairness.

On the other hand, another prominent strength of any constitution is that it makes the necessary provisions to break deadlocks and blind spots in the nation's management.

In other words, it has given flexible principles so that through reliance on those principles one may bring about changes in the nation's legal and executive structure, thereby solving problems.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has also provided articles for this purpose. For example it has assigned interpretation of the Constitution and ordinary laws to the Council of Guardians and the Majlis, which can be effective in making laws flexible.

Likewise, it has named Article Four, previously mentioned, as governing all laws and even the statements and generalities of the Constitution itself. It has made the Council of Guardians the authority with discretion, so that in the event of conflict between the specifics and generalities of some of the articles of the Constitution, there would be no need for a change in the articles of the Constitution, and the Council of Guardians would be able to make a decision on its own to eliminate this conflict. This also is among the strengths of the Constitution, although the Constitution is not perfect in this respect and needs reform.

However, just as has been stated, the Constitution, despite all of these strengths, has problems, especially in the executive and organizational dimensions. These problems are chiefly the same points that have been stipulated in his holiness' eight-point message designating the Constitutional Review Council.

These problems have shown themselves throughout the first decade of the revolution, and under these circumstances his holiness the imam has decided to revise the Constitution. The principle of revising and completing the Constitution and the selection of this time for reappraisal has logical and acceptable reasons, which we list below:

1. The existence of problems and shortcomings. The very existence of problems in the Constitution is itself a strong reason that we must finally one day eliminate these shortcomings, and there are no better conditions than today's for this task. Delay in this matter, as the Imam said, "will cause calamities and bitter consequences for the nation and the revolution."

2. The emergence of problems and disorder in the nation's management. The Constitution's problems and shortcomings have revealed themselves in practice in the first decade of the revolution. Many examples can be mentioned in this regard. The problems of introducing and designating ministers, some of the ministries remaining without an official for long periods of time, the problems of the judicial power, delays in implementing the divine restrictions and the problems related to managing the Seda va Sima [Voice and Vision] Broadcasting Company are examples of these practical problems and disorders. With these problems managing the country has been truly difficult, and every kind of measure to solve these problems has been perceived as unconstitutional. Therefore, to put an end to these problems, the Constitution must be amended as soon as possible.

3. The need to revise the structure of the nation's management and executive organizations in view of the onset of reconstruction. Most of the nation's officials are in agreement that the nation's management and executive organizations cannot withstand the nation's economic, cultural and social reconstruction. It has been stressed repeatedly that optimum reconstruction requires the reform of this structure. Weakness of the structure of management and organization has even been given as one of the chief obstacles to implementing programs for the nation's long- term expansion.

4. Passing of the period of war and crisis. It is clear that when the country was caught up in crisis and all-out military and political warfare, there was no possibility of changing the Constitution, and any movement in this direction could have led to weakness in the government. Now that, Praise God, the war has ended, the crises arising from it have relatively subsided and circumstances have become more normal, amending the Constitution is one of the first priorities of building the country.

5. The problem of the Islamic government's future leader. After the resignation of Ayatollah Montazeri as successor to the position of leader, and in view of the requirement of a source of emulation for leadership of the government, given in Articles 107 and 109 of the Constitution, there is the serious question of whether or not we will face a problem in the future. Will there always be an individual in all circumstances who will have both the skills of a source of emulation and the qualifications for leadership? Since the answer to these questions is negative, it is therefore necessary to change the Constitution in this section also.

These were the chief reasons for amending and completing the Constitution at this point in time.

Points To Amend in the Constitution

As we said, in its generalities, aspirations, policies and directions the Constitution has many strengths which need not be changed.

The changes are mostly needed in the executive and organizational areas. In his message, His Holiness the Imam mentioned eight areas, mostly having to do with the principles of management and organization. The eight areas, in light of the problems facing them, are as follows:

1. Leadership

As we explained previously, the principal problem in the article on leadership has to do with the requirement to be a "source of emulation" for "leadership." The problem is, what would we do if we found ourselves in circumstances where a source of emulation with the qualifications for leadership could not be found?

Are we to put a source of emulation at the fulcrum of the nation's administration despite his lack of leadership qualifications, or revise the Constitution under those conditions? Of course, in our view, other amendments are also necessary in connection with leadership, which we will discuss under that topic.

2. Centralization in Management of the Executive Power

Under the Constitution, the executive power consists of the president as chief of the executive power and the prime minister as chief of the Council of Ministers and the ministers.

Under the Constitution executive management has been divided generally between the president and the prime minister. In practice, this division of management authority in executive affairs has brought the nation's administration against many difficulties, an example of which we mentioned previously (appointing ministers). It is clear that the only way to solve this problem is to centralize the management in this power, and this itself requires amendment to the Constitution.

3. Centralization in Management of the Judicial Power

A problem similar to that of the executive power in management also exists in the judicial power, with the difference that in the executive power management is divided between two elements, while here it is divided among five elements, the members of the Supreme Judicial Council. To put it in a better way, in the executive power the Constitution has given two managers, but in the judicial power there are five managers, and it is clear that the problems of the executive power exist here as well. The solution to the problem in this sector is also management centralization, which must be changed in the Constitution.

4. Centralization in Management of Seda va Sima [Voice and Vision]

According to Article 175 of the Constitution, radio and television must be managed under the joint supervision of the three powers (judicial, legislative and executive).

The assignment of the Seda va Sima management to the three powers has also in practice created the same problems in this very sensitive government apparatus that existed in the executive and judicial powers, caused by multiplicity of management. For this multiplicity of management as well, the idea must be considered that there is no solution other than to amend the Constitution.

5. Number of Majlis Deputies

Equalizing the number of Majlis deputies in the decision-making of this very important power has a most important role. Article 64 of the Constitution sets the number of Majlis deputies at 270 persons, with another deputy to be added with every additional 100,000 in the population, although a number of people believe that even the current number creates problems for decision-making and that the number of deputies should be reduced.

In any case, any kind of reform in this area needs changes in Article 64 of the Constitution.

6. The Expediency Discernment Council

The emergence of some problems in the first ten years of the revolution caused His Holiness the Imam, may his life be long, to form the Expediency Discernment Council. Examples of these problems are differences of opinion between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians concerning some Majlis legislation, as well as the failure in the Constitution to provide a center to discern the interests of the government with regard to the implementation of government commands (which is at the discretion of the chief theologian). Therefore, to resolve the Islamic government's intricacies and problems, especially in deliberations on interests which require government commands, it is necessary that the Constitution provide a competent authority.

7. Method of Reappraising the Constitution

Among the very important aspects of amending the Constitution is providing a way to amend the Constitution when needed. Clearly, the Constitution is a product of human thought, which is not without shortcomings and faults. The law therefore also has faults, and therefore the law itself must provide a method of amendment.

8. Changing the Name of the National Consultative Assembly to the Islamic Consultative Assembly

In the years when the Constitution was compiled, due to the special atmosphere of that day and the cognitive legacy of the previous Majlis, parliament took the name National Majlis. Clearly, since the government of the Islamic Republic is Islamic and since the laws, legislation and organization of the Majlis itself are Islamic, there is no need to emphasize "being national," and although the first Majlis, as its first enactment, changed the name of the Majlis itself to the Islamic Majlis, it is also necessary that this change be made in the Constitution.

Composition of Constitutional Reappraisal Council

The composition of the 25-person reappraisal council, which will include 20 persons directly appointed by his holiness the imam and five others selected by the Majlis, shows the council's universality. It is clear that since amending the Constitution must be done on the basis of Islamic criteria, his holiness the Imam selected more than fifteen of the members of this council from theologians and Islamic experts, and since the subject under discussion has to do with the executive and organizational sectors with an element of expertise involved, about 17 of the council's members are persons who have had a direct role in managing the government and have served in the executive, legislative and judicial powers.

Likewise, due to the need that this council be familiar with the primary subject of the Constitution and its legal foundations, about 14 of this council's members are members of the Assembly of Experts that approved the Constitution.

These points show that his holiness the imam has chosen the best and strongest composition possible to amend and complete the Constitution, so that the decisions of this body are completely trustworthy for the people.

In this series of articles we intend to offer discussion and our views concerning some of the more important and higher priority items among the eight focal points designated by His Holiness the Imam for amendment in the Constitution, concerning which at the same time there are ambiguities about how to correct them in the Constitution. These are:

1. Leadership

2. Centralization in management of the executive power

3. The Expediency Discernment Council

At the same time, in view of the fact that a secretariat has been designated for the Constitutional Reappraisal Council and the views of experts concerning correction of the eight areas are to be sent to this secretariat, therefore this discussion may be sent as a proposal for correcting the three areas above for the attention of the Constitutional Reappraisal Council.

Leadership

Concerning amendments having to do with the principles of leadership in the Constitution, the topic at hand is the requirement of being a source of emulation for the leadership position. This issue is certainly very important and must be addressed in this article. In our view, however, reforms having to do with the principles of leadership are not limited to the requirement of being a source of emulation. In our view the three subjects having to do with the article on leadership must all be amended. These three subjects are:

1. The requirement of being a source of emulation.

2. Leadership discretion.

3. Leadership in the form of a council.

Let us now discuss separately the three subjects above.

The requirement of being a source of emulation:

The articles in the Constitution having to do with leadership are Article Five and Articles 107-112. Article Five says:

During the absence of his holiness the lord of the age (may almighty God hasten his joyful advent), the governance and religious leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran falls upon the just and pious theologian who is aware of the times, is courageous, possessed of administrative ability, and recognized and accepted as leader by the majority of the people. In the event that no theologian has such a majority, the leadership will fall to a leader or a leadership council composed of theologians possessing the aforementioned qualifications in accordance with Article 107.

As will be noted, in this article the requirements for leader are:

1. Being a just and pious theologian

2. Aware of the times

3. Courageous

4. Possessed of administrative ability

The first requirement has to do with theology, while the other three are concerned with his guardianship and leadership. In this article nothing is said about the requirement of being a source of emulation for the leader, only that he be a "just and pious theologian." Of course the meaning of leadership is not source of emulation, because the term "just and pious theologian" is a general one that can also include a source of emulation.

Article 107 says the following about leadership:

Whenever one of the theologians possessing the qualifications specified in Article Five of the Constitution is recognized and accepted as source of emulation by a decisive majority of the people, as has been the case with the exalted source of emulation and leader of the revolution, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Emam Khomeyni, this leader has the responsibility of governance and all the duties arising therefrom. Otherwise, experts elected by the people will study and consult among themselves concerning all persons qualified to act as source of emulation and leader. Whenever they find that one source of emulation has special distinction for leadership, they will present him to the people as leader. Otherwise, they will appoint either three or five sources of emulation possessing the necessary qualifications for leadership and present them to the people as members of the Leadership Council.

In light of the beginning of this article, first of all a theologian could be a leader who, in addition to the requirements given in Article Five (which we listed), might be accepted by the people as "source of emulation."

That is, in practice the people might have accepted him as source of emulation and emulate him, just as was done in the case of his holiness the imam. Otherwise, the experts are to study those who have competence as source of emulation and leadership. Here the issue of competence arises, and it is not taken to mean "source of emulation in practice" so that he has a following and the people emulate him, but merely that it is enough that he has "competence as source of emulation" (potential source of emulation). In any case, if the experts find a "source of emulation" with special distinction for leadership, they will present him to the people, otherwise they will designate three or five "sources of emulation" with the qualifications for leadership as the Leadership Council.

In this last terminology again "source of emulation" has been used in a vague way. In the two instances apparently the intent is source of emulation in practice and with a following, but in view of the fact that this term is diverted to study by the experts of everyone who has "competence as source of emulation," and leadership, the conclusion might be drawn that the meaning of "source of emulation" is the very people who have "competence as source of emulation."

In Article 109 of the Constitution, which is clearer than the other qualifications for leadership or membership in the Leadership Council, it says:

Qualifications and qualities for leader or membership in the Leadership Council:

1. The necessary practical and pious competence for religious jurisprudence and source of emulation.

2. Political and social insight and sufficient courage, strength and administrative ability for leadership.

In the above article it will be noted that the subject is "competence as source of emulation," not "source of emulation in practice."

These three articles are directly concerned with the leader's qualities and attributes, and the rest of the articles pertaining to leadership have dealt with issues we will not address due to their lack of relevance to the subject. The problem with "the requirement of being source of emulation" is that usually sources of emulation who also have the qualifications for leadership are rare and exceptional and for this reason the government might be faced with a dead end in the long run due to the non-existence of such a source of emulation. On the other hand, one cannot imagine for even one moment that society should be without a leader. Now what must be done?

If there is no leader who is also a source of emulation, is society to be left to itself and left without leadership until at some unspecified time a source of emulation is found who is suitable for leadership? Or should the qualifications for leadership be set in such a way that the required individual exists at all times? Clearly, the first option is not correct. In the book Nahj al-Balagheh, the people must have a prince and a governor, whether he be good or a criminal and a debaucher.

In any case, society cannot be left without a leader. It is clear that the second way is to be chosen, that is the problem must be resolved through the law.

Here, in view of all the discussions that have been held on this subject in recent weeks in society, three views or proposals can be identified.

First view: A number of people believe that the articles pertaining to the leadership actually have no problems and are not problematic, because what is discussed in these articles is not "source of emulation in practice" but "competence as source of emulation." These people cite Articles 107 and 109 where "competence as source of emulation" has been discussed, not source of emulation in practice having followers and emulators. In the view of this group, since people with "competence as source of emulation" always exist, we will therefore face no problem in designating the leader.

Concerning the above view, we must first say that there is ambiguity in Article 109 as to whether the use of the term "source of emulation" twice refers to existing sources of emulation or to those who have competence as sources of emulation. Second and more important is that assuming the intent of the Constitution is one with "competence as source of emulation" who is "highly learned." That is, it is not enough to have discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence (even if it is absolute), the person himself must consider himself "highly learned," the people who are his emulators must consider him "highly learned," and most important, the experts and theologians who present the leader must consider him highly learned so he will have "competence as source of emulation."

Clearly, this is the very problem. That is, it is difficult to find a person or persons who are highly learned and at the same time have the qualifications for leadership. The result is that whether the source of emulation stipulated in Articles 107 and 109 is so qualified in practice or potential, since "highly learned" is also one of the qualifications of "source of emulation," the problem will not be solved.

Second view: Another group of people believe that actually leadership has no need of the qualifications of source of emulation and that individual discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence is sufficient. This group therefore proposes that we completely eliminate 'source of emulation' from the Constitution and replace it with 'discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence' (or at most 'absolute discretion').

In our view, the chief problem with this view is the very problems that will arise by separating "leadership" from "source of emulation." The separation of "religious source of emulation" from "political leadership" actually contains within it the seeds of disaster. It is true that in view of the fact that the sources of emulation and theologians must follow the leader who is fully qualified as a person with discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence, but first of all, where is the line between government and non-government affairs? Will not this very subject become a source of disagreement between the source of emulation and the leader? That is, is it not possible that the leader will consider an issue to be an affair of the state, but the sources of emulation will consider it a nonstate issue and will insist on their religious decrees? Second, if a source of emulation (contrary to theological law) permits himself to become involved in state affairs and clearly express views as religious decrees in opposition to the leadership, what would have to be done then? Will it not bring evil and problems to try to oust a source of emulation (especially if he is a source of emulation being emulated by a decisive majority of the people as well)? And thus compelling.

We therefore believe that so far as possible one must avoid having a religious decree from a source of emulation as a thing separate from society's leadership, and this situation must be reserved for special circumstances. Here we present the third point of view, which we also accept.

Third view: The third view is that the requirement of source of emulation should be established in the Constitution, but in emergency circumstances and if, according to the experts, a source of emulation has the qualifications to lead society, priority will go to a practicing source of emulation with a following who also has the competence and qualities of leadership. After him, and in the event that there is no such person, the next choice will be a theologian with the competence of source of emulation and also having the qualifications of leadership. In this case, if there is such an individual, the experts will announce his scholarly ranking and competence for leadership and source of emulation to the people. If none of the above choices are possible, the next choice is a person with absolute discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence who also has the qualifications for leadership. Of course in the third case in any event the problems we explained in examining the second point of view could occur, but comparing the evils arising from the governance and leadership of a source of emulation without the qualifications to govern and lead and the leadership of a person with absolute discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence with the qualifications to lead, the second case is certainly more desirable.

Moreover, later we will discuss measures that can be considered to minimize the evils and problems arising from the separation of the source of emulation from the leadership.

With regard to the above point of view, there are three questions or problems that could arise.

Problem one: Isn't it incorrect to pass over the highly learned individual in favor of the one with discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence, in that it gives preference to the student over the teacher?

Answer: First, it must be asked, what does 'highly learned' mean? If it is taken in the usual sense, where it applies solely to theology, the problem can be traced and studied, but a number of theologians, including His Holiness Ayatollah Azari-Qomi, believe that the term 'highly learned' is not confined to theology, but includes all knowledge pertaining to managing and leading society. That is, a person can be called highly learned who is not only learned in theology, but also in management, politics, and the other sciences needed to manage society. Clearly, whether one conforms or does not conform to this view of the "highly learned" it is not the same as the prevalent view of it. Perhaps when His Holiness the Imam said, in his message known as the Charter of Brotherhood, "The word for one who has discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence as used in the seminaries is sufficient," he was referring to this very issue. In the aforementioned message, he said:

The important thing is a proper understanding of government and society, so that on that basis the Islamic government will be able to plan in the interest of Muslims, for unity of spirit and action is necessary, and here the word for one who has discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence as used in the seminaries is sufficient. If a person is learned in the sciences required by the seminaries, but cannot recognize the interests of society or cannot differentiate between competent and useful people and incompetent people, and if in general he lacks correct insight and the ability to make decisions in matters of religious jurisprudence and politics, this person does not have the ability to exercise discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence with regard to social and government issues.

This discussion applies in the event that another meaning of 'highly learned' is used. However, if we regard 'highly learned' as being only theological, these problems are again irrelevant, because the criteria for excellence in government and managing society are not solely great learning in theology. The government has other requirements mentioned in the Constitution.

The criteria for holding government office and guardianship are all of the requirements mentioned above, including learning in theology.

Of course it is necessary to make the point that 'learning in theology' has special prominence among the other requirements and that without it (as we said previously) problems could arise for the government. Therefore, in the study of the requirements for leadership, a special accounting should be made of this one.

His holiness the imam has discussed the necessity for "academic excellence" in leaders in his lessons on the vice-regency of the chief theologian in Noble Najaf. With regard to this, he said:

Since the government of Islam is the government of law, it is necessary for the leader to have knowledge of laws, as has been said in the Traditions. Such knowledge is not only necessary for the leader, but for all persons with any job or position. However, the leader must have 'academic excellence.'

Meaning he has given greater emphasis to this requirement. That is, if someone is a distinguished scholar of theology while having at the same time sufficient leadership qualities, and another person has independent discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence with extremely high leadership qualities, the first person will be chosen. In any case, it is necessary and unavoidable for the leader to have sufficient leadership qualities.

Part II

Introduction: In the previous issue we examined the subject of leadership in the Constitution and explained the various points of view in this regard. In this regard the discussion arrived at the third point of view, which stated that "the requirement of being a source of emulation should be set in the Constitution, but in emergency circumstances and if, as designated by the Assembly of Experts, there is no source of emulation with the qualifications for leadership, a person with absolute discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence shall be selected." In examining this view, it was noted that three problems could arise, one of which was discussed. We now continue the discussion by examining the other difficulties that could arise.

Problem two: If the source of emulation is separated from the leadership, will there not emerge in the long term a theory separating religion from politics?

Answer: It is true that if the source of emulation is separated from the leadership, the religious leadership will be separated from the political leadership, but this will not mean separating religion from politics!

Because: First, it is only possible for religion to be separate from politics when the fulcrum of power is not held by a scholar and expert on Islam, but according to the third point of view, at the head of society will be at least a pious and just person with absolute discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence, even though the principle requires governance by a source of emulation.

Second: Religion will be separated from politics when government laws and the regulations for managing society are not based on religious law, but since there will be the Council of Guardians and the laws will be supervised by six just religious jurists with final and special authority, there will be no cause for concern in this regard.

Third: The firm religious and orthodox beliefs of the Muslim people, the presence of the theologians and clergy in the pillars of the government of the Islamic Republic, and the presence of the seminaries in the heart of politics and government will never permit politics and the administration of society to become separate from religious principles and criteria.

Third problem: In the event of a difference of opinion between the source of emulation (especially one emulated by a majority of the people) or sources of emulation and the leader and the leadership apparatus, what practical solution will there be? What guarantee is there that there will be no differences among the people?

Answer: This is the most important question and problem with regard to the "requirement of being a source of emulation." We refer to two points in answer to this question:

First point: Islam and Shi'ite theology have solved this problem in theory. Under Islamic laws, in the event that the government is taken by a fully-qualified and competent theologian, it is incumbent upon all theologians, sources of emulation and their followers to adhere to his commands and requirements in government affairs. Not only violations, but even weak compliance with government commands and regulations are forbidden. If a theologian or a source of emulation should disregard the regulations of the Islamic government out of personal desire or selfishness, he is in violation of justice. As we saw with regard to one of the so-called sources of emulation who engaged in sabotage from the outset of the triumph of the revolution and weakened the leadership of society and ultimately took part in a plan to overthrow the government, although he even had religious followers, he lost his authority as a jurist and source of emulation and was ejected from society.

This matter has been discussed by his holiness the imam in his book "Vice-Regency of the Chief Theologian:" "The late Mirza Shirazi's order to boycott tobacco, being a government command, was incumbent upon the other theologians, and all the Iranian clergy, with few exceptions, followed this command. It was not a judgment that became the source of disagreement between a few people over some subject, each judging according to his discernment. He issued this government command in the interests of Muslims, and as long as the justification existed, the command remained also, and when the justification was gone, the command was withdrawn."

"The late Mirza Mohammad Taqi Shirazi gave the command for holy war—of course it was in the name of defense—and all the clergy obeyed. This was because it was a government command."

Of course the other side of the issue can be drawn as well. That is, it is possible that under some circumstances the leader will err, and, God forbid, may take the wrong path, and in this case the second point is significant.

Second point: A problem that may come to mind is how to deal in practice with conflict between the source of emulation and the leader. In reality the solution to this problem requires legal and practical guarantees, and mere theory will not solve it. These problems are real, and the way to solve them, in our view, is through the "experts." If we are obliged to appoint a leader of the lower rank of having independent discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence, and if there is conflict between the source of emulation and this leader, the only competent and reliable authority to resolve the conflict is the nation's Assembly of Experts. The experts have two qualifications, and in view of these two qualifications, they can play the decisive role in this matter. These two qualifications are:

1. Theological and judicial expertise

As we know, the members of the Assembly of Experts must be just persons with independent discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence, and there will always be a large number of people in this assembly with absolute and distinguished independent discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence, as well as prominent theologians and seminarians.

2. Popular Support

The Assembly of Experts are elected by the people and therefore enjoy sufficient popular support. If they derive their political and social prominence from the people, any decisions or orders coming from them will be trusted by the people.

If conflict arises between the "source of emulation" and the "leader" due to differences of opinion or misunderstandings, the Assembly of Experts can solve the problem as mediators and arbitrators, and if, God forbid, the problem has to do with selfish desires and striving for power, the Assembly of Experts can still solve the problem.

In the second case: If the problem has to do with the source of emulation so that his competence and justice are questioned, the experts can announce it to the people and declare the emulation of such a source of emulation invalid. In the same manner, in one instance someone who appeared to be a source of emulation did this and strayed from justice, the teachers and high theologians of the Qom Seminary and other seminaries issued a religious decree making it invalid to emulate him, and the people obeyed.

If the problem has to do with the leader, and, God forbid, the leader strays from the main path, the Assembly of Experts will again make the final decision and announce it to the people. As it happens, a role like that of the first Assembly of Experts (to study the Constitution) was foreseen for the leadership Assembly of Experts. Article 111 of the Constitution says:

Whenever the leader or a member of the Leadership Council becomes incapable of fulfilling the legal obligations of leadership or loses one of the qualifications mentioned in Article 109, he will be dismissed. Discretion in this matter will be exercised by the Assembly of Experts mentioned in Article 108. The regulations for convening the experts to see to and implement this article will be established at the first session of the Assembly of Experts.

It appears that the incapability mentioned in the above article is psychological and physical. That is, if the leader or members of the Leadership Council are unable to lead for physical or psychological reasons, he will be dismissed from this position by the Assembly of Experts. Likewise, if he is lacking one of the qualifications mentioned in Article 109, that is if he no longer has sufficient academic competence, piety, political and social insight, courage, strength and administrative ability, he will be dismissed.

This article gives very powerful discretion to the Assembly of Experts so that they can act as a stabilizing anchor for relations between the source of emulation and the leadership and break the deadlocks in this regard. With this perspective, it appears that the third difficulty which was raised is also resolved. Of course it is necessary that this position and function for the Assembly of Experts be specified more clearly and strongly in the Constitution.

Thus far we have discussed the first area for amendment on the principles of leadership. We will now address the second area, which is the matter of the discretion allowed the chief theologian.

Discretion of Leadership

In Article 110 the Constitution gives the duties and discretion of leadership as follows:

1. To appoint the theologians for the Council of Guardians.

2. To appoint the nation's highest-ranking judicial officer.

3. To act as commander in chief of the Armed Forces as follows:

a. To appoint and dismiss the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff;

b. To appoint and dismiss the commander of the revolutionary guards;

c. To form the Supreme Defense Council, composed of the following eight members: President of the republic, prime minister, minister of defense, chief of the joint chiefs of staff, commander of the revolutionary guards, two consultants designated by the leader;

d. Appointing the chief commanders of the three Armed Forces as nominated by the Supreme Defense Council;

e. Declaring war and peace and mobilizing forces as proposed by the Supreme Defense Council.

4. Signing the order appointing the president after his election by the people. The suitability of presidential candidates with regard to the qualifications set forth in this law must be confirmed before the elections by the Council of Guardians, and, in the case of the first term, by the leadership.

5. Dismissal of the president, with due regard for the interests of the country, after the Supreme Court convicts him of failing to fulfill his legal duties, or a vote by the Majlis testifying to his political incompetence.

6. Pardoning or reducing the sentences of convicts, within the bounds of Islamic criteria, after receiving a recommendation from the Supreme Court.

Two points of view and interpretations exist with regard to this article. Some believe that this article is a restriction in that it limits the discretion of the chief theologian to the six aforementioned areas, and that the chief theologian has no authority outside these bounds.

The second interpretation is that this article is a restriction, not in the sense that the chief theologian's authority is limited to the areas in this article, but in the sense that these duties and areas of discretion are limited to the chief theologian and that others do not have the right to intervene in such matters. If the first interpretation of Article 110 is correct, then there are problems with this article because the authority of the chief theologian are much broader than this article and the six areas in this article are only part of the chief theologian's areas of authority.

If the second interpretation is correct there are no problems in this regard, since the existence of broader authority for the chief theologian than that found in Article 110 is not specified, but there are still ambiguities and undesirable effects, although from the looks of the article the first interpretation will be understood. In any case, the authority mentioned in Article 110 is only part of the authority of the chief theologian and it must therefore be amended. This point was also made by His Holiness the Imam, may his life be long, after the Constitution was compiled and ratified by the Assembly of Experts. In this regard, he said:

"In this Constitution, although this is my point of view, one item is deficient, and the clergy have more authority than this in Islam. The gentlemen, in order to avoid excessive conflict with these intellectuals, were not forthcoming enough. What is in the Constitution is only part of the authority of the chief theologian, not all the authority of the chief theologian."

Unfortunately, because of this very deficiency in the Constitution, over the years, especially in special circumstances, we have had problems. His Holiness the Imam, in view of the religious authority of the chief theologian based on his correct vision or that of the experts, made decisions that were seen as being in violation of the Constitution, since they were not specified in the Constitution. This led to propaganda and negative statements by the foreign press and the deluded and self-interested people within the country, especially the bankrupt liberals [portion illegible]. For example, the formation of councils such as the Supreme War Support Council, the Supreme Cultural Revolution Council and the Expediency Discernment Council, while fully in accordance with the religiously lawful authority of the chief theologian, but since this matter was not explained in the Constitution, it was perceived as an apparent violation of the Constitution and the enemies made a great deal of negative propaganda on these matters.

When the Assembly of Experts were compiling the Constitution, the political and social atmosphere of the day, especially with the government of the liberals and, in the imam's term, "intellectuals," as well as the presence of the mini-groups and their poison spreading, prevented the full expression of the authority of the chief theologian in accordance with religious law in the Constitution, but now, praise God, when circumstances are favorable, this matter must be given attention in the Constitutional Reappraisal Council.

Leadership by Council

One of the important topics of discussion with regard to the principles of leadership is the matter of leadership by council. Of course the Constitution does not recognize the principle of leadership by council, but set the principle of leadership by individual, allowing leadership by council in case of necessity. Article 107 discusses leadership by council more clearly and precisely than the other articles (such as Article Five and Article 109). The text of this article is as follows:

Whenever one of the theologians possessing the qualifications specified in Article Five of the Constitution is recognized and accepted as source of emulation by a decisive majority of the people, as has been the case with the exalted source of emulation and leader of the revolution, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Emam Khomeyni, this leader has the responsibility of governance and all the duties arising therefrom. Otherwise, experts elected by the people will study and consult among themselves concerning all persons qualified to act as source of emulation and leader. Whenever they find that one source of emulation has special distinction for leadership, they will present him to the people as leader. Otherwise, they will appoint either three or five sources of emulation possessing the necessary qualifications for leadership and present them to the people as members of the Leadership Council.

As we said, and as is also clearly stated in the above article, the principle is on individual leadership, and this condition exists when a person has special suitability and distinction compared to others. Otherwise, the Assembly of Experts will appoint either three or five sources of emulation possessing the necessary qualifications for leadership and present them to the people as members of the Leadership Council.

The issue that arises here is whether or not leadership by council (even under special circumstances) is really in the interest of the government or not. Can several people make quick decisions on very important matters concerning the guidance and leadership of society and implement them decisively? Isn't the defeat of the council management of the judicial power the most outstanding indication of the inefficiency of council management for the entire government and society? By reason of the fact that council management in the judicial power was revised and the decision was made to centralize management in this branch of the government, shouldn't council management of the entire country, that is that of government leadership, also be revised and centralization also created in this sector? These things and other issues are the questions that will be discussed today with regard to the subject of "leadership by council."

In our view as well, council management and even decision-making is actually and in general not proper. Even by Islamic criteria, except in special cases in which decision-making is made in other ways, by council and assembly, we have no decision-making or management by council. Especially in executive affairs, decision by council is actually not a positive and efficient method. Of course consultation and counseling are very acceptable and positive in Islam, and they have been emphasized by verses in the Koran and the Traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him), but this consultation is not the same as group decision-making. Rather, it is individual decision-making and management using the views, proposals, and criticisms of others. The verse known as "consultation in the glorious Koran" testifies to this. After giving the command to consult on affairs, God says to his prophet, "Then when you have decided trust in God (and implement your decision)." That is, before deciding, sufficient consultation must take place, and then the individual decides.

Likewise, in the Traditions we have: "He who consults with the great men shares in their wisdom." This calls for the use of the views of others before deciding.

In any case, with emphasis on the fact that consultation is a very good tradition, and even in some special cases group decisionmaking is a wise procedure, in most cases, especially in the executive and management dimension, decisionmaking by council is not at all efficient, and this has been seen in experiences with the Supreme Judicial Council.

The Leadership Council, having the responsibility of managing the entire government, is no exception to this rule. Leadership by council has problems and weak points which can be listed as follows:

1. Reduced Speed of Action. Clearly, decision-making by council needs more time than individual decision-making. Discussion and exchanging of views prolongs the work and especially in cases where the leadership must react quickly domestically and internationally, this very slowness and lack of speed can damage the country and the government, not to mention the fact that at times it may be difficult to convene and assemble the council's members and at times the council will not reach a majority.

2. Reduction in Decisiveness. Leadership of a government such as the Islamic Republic, in view of the various domestic and international issues, needs special decisiveness so that at the appropriate time the decisions made can be implemented decisively. With leadership by council, firmness and decisiveness in the leadership would be reduced.

3. Differences of Opinion. Differences of opinion among members of the Leadership Council is a natural thing. These differences of opinion, especially if they penetrate society (and they usually do), completely shake the strength of the leadership and the decisions taken, and it is even possible that it will divide the people, and this is the most dangerous effect of leadership by council.

4. The Existence of Competent People. While there are many problems with finding an individual qualified for leadership, to begin with there will be even more problems finding three or five suitable and competent people. If competent people are not found and the council begins its work with weak or incomplete membership, the damaging consequences that will follow are obvious.

These have been the problems of leadership by council and it is because of these problems that leadership by council should be avoided to the extent possible. Of course it is not right to eliminate it entirely from the Constitution, and it can be authorized under special emergency circumstances, meaning that if there is truly no one with special distinction among those competent to lead (distinction that overall puts the person in a higher position than the others), three or five persons can be selected to form a council. This is the very thing the Constitution has provided. Our aim in this discussion has not been entirely to eliminate leadership by council, but rather first of all to direct attention to the Assembly of Experts, since the issue of leadership by council cannot be discussed easily, and second to mention the Constitutional Reappraisal Council, which if possible, by designating more conditions and requirements, can establish leadership by council only under very special circumstances.

Part III

In the two previous installments of this series we discussed the need to reappraise the Constitution as well as the matter of leadership and its authority in the Constitution. In this issue we direct the attention of our esteemed readers to the remainder of the discussion on centralization in the management of the executive power.

Centralization in the Management of the Executive Power

The second area in the Imam's eight-point message we have undertaken to study is centralization in the management of the executive power. In Article Nine of the Constitution, which pertains to the executive power, the president of the republic is designated as chief of the executive power (Article 113). On the other hand, in Article 134, the prime minister is named chief of the Council of Ministers and, with the cooperation of this council, is responsible for implementing the decisions as well as the plans and policies of the government and the laws.

On the one hand in this same article, the prime minister is responsible before the Majlis for the measures of the Council of Ministers. In Article 135 it says that the prime minister will remain in his post as long as he enjoys the confidence of the Majlis.

From the above two articles we conclude that the prime minister has no responsibility to the president and that the president does not have the right to dismiss him. Yet (as we have said), Article 113 names the president as the chief of the executive power (meaning the prime minister and the ministers). The ministers have no responsibility to the president either, and must answer to the Majlis and the prime minister.

On the other hand, the prime minister's proposals to the Majlis are made with the president, and the dismissal and appointment of the ministers by the prime minister must also be approved by the president (Article 136).

This situation in the executive power in practice has produced a kind of multiplicity and division of management, so that it is difficult to continue this way in practice and it is bringing the nation into a bottleneck. The president considers himself responsible for the executive power and therefore gives himself the right to intervene in all the affairs of this power, but the law has not given him the necessary tools for the task, and some of the necessary authority has even been taken away from him. "A fat lion without a mane or a tail!" On the other hand, the prime minister considers himself responsible for the Council of Ministers, but he believes he does not have enough authority to act quickly.

For example, he believes that he cannot dismiss and appoint ministers on his own. With regard to the ministers, since he must have agreement from both the Majlis and the president to act, his executive power has been taken from him. This lack of centralization in management of the executive power has in practice brought negative results thus far:

1. Reduced speed in decisionmaking and executive action. The existence of two officials and managers for the executive power (the president and the prime minister) makes it difficult to conduct affairs quickly.

2. Loss of decisiveness in decisionmaking and executive action. For the reason above, decisiveness and firmness are taken from executive action.

3. Lack of coordination and differences in procedure. Due to the differences of opinion which are likely at all times between the president and the prime minister, deficiencies and lack of coordination are created in affairs. For example, the president does not accept some of the prime minister's policies in executive affairs, and therefore does not consider himself obligated to cooperate seriously in carrying them out.

On the other hand, the prime minister, considering himself responsible for the direct implementation of affairs, claims that he must design and implement policies and procedures.

This lack of coordination and difference in taste weakens and shakes the entire executive apparatus.

The problems and practical disorder arising from the three above problems have been witnessed repeatedly during His Excellency Hojjat ol-Eslam va ol-Moslemin Khamene'i's two terms, and today not only the president and the prime minister but all the insiders agree that the existing situation cannot continue and that centralization must be established in the two executive powers. His holiness the imam has also seen this way as the way to solve the problem. In his blessed message he declared clearly that the area of activity of the Constitutional Reappraisal Council is "centralization" of management in the executive power.

Various Views on Centralization of Executive Power Management

Other than those who are actually opposed to centralization of management in the executive power (and we will later discuss their views and reasons), three principal views favoring centralization can be given:

First view: Eliminate the president and give the authority and management of the executive power to the prime minister. This view says that since the prime minister is elected by the Majlis and is controlled by it, it is best to keep the prime minister.

The proposal to eliminate the president and keep the prime minister in the Constitution, for whatever reason, has three chief problems, the existence of which prevents the acceptance of the first view. The three problems are:

1. The lack of the necessary domestic support compared to the president: Just as we know, the president, under Article 114 of the Constitution, is elected by direct vote of the people, and then the prime minister, under Article 124, is presented to the Majlis by the president and the Majlis votes to accept him. In reality, the president must of necessity be a person who is loved and accepted by the people, otherwise naturally he would not be able to get a majority vote in the elections. Now if the president is elected by a majority vote of the people (especially a decisive majority), clearly he has domestic and popular support. Even though the prime minister is elected by the representatives of the people, it cannot be absolutely accepted that whatever the representatives of the people decide is necessarily the choice of the people as well. It is possible that the Majlis deputies could confirm someone as prime minister who is not sufficiently accepted among the people. The management of the country, and especially the measures taken by the executive power, which is directly concerned with the units of the people, needs

strong popular support. The people must give the necessary support to the executive power so that this power can manage in the desired way using and relying on the masses of millions of Muslims.

What is required to draw this support from the people is that a person be at the head of this power who is accepted and supported by a decisive majority of the people. The president of the republic necessarily has this position and popular support and the prime minister will not necessarily have this acceptance (he may or may not have it).

2. Lack of support on the international scene: In view of the fact that it is the responsibility of the executive power to design foreign policy and implement international policies and procedures (and especially the Foreign Ministry), therefore the person at the head of the executive power must have sufficient international credibility and support, and the world must give special value to his decisions and commitments. In this case the government will have sufficient power on the international scene. One of the factors that secure international support and credibility is popular support for the government and especially the nation's executive power. To whatever extent the executive power has domestic power and enjoys acceptance and popularity among the people, clearly the world and other countries will give more credibility to the Islamic Republic's foreign positions, but if the executive power does not have sufficient domestic popularity and support, its positions and measures in international affairs will be viewed as unstable and weak. The president has this domestic support, and therefore his presidency of the executive power will give this power more power and prestige in its decisions and international positions. The prime minister, not being directly elected by the people, will not necessarily have such power and credibility.

3. Insufficient stability of legal power: The nation's management needs relative stability in executive affairs. Usually management stability is followed by stability of organizations, stability of policies, and stability in decision-making, and if the country wants to travel the road of reconstruction and stability more quickly, it must have such stability. With stability in the nation's executive management, the people will have a greater feeling of trust and security, investment will increase and programs for expansion will be carried out more quickly and decisively.

Under Article 114 of the Constitution, the president of the republic is elected for four years and there is no obstacle to his election for a second term.

That is, the president can serve as head of the nation's executive management for a minimum of four and a maximum of 8 years, and this is a very constructive and useful stability, and it can secure all the benefits of stability in the nation's management that we listed, and it can eliminate all the undesirable effects of instability.

The prime minister has no specified term of office. According to Article 135 the prime minister remains in his post as long as he has the confidence of the Majlis. That is, whenever the Majlis wishes, it may remove the prime minister from his post. Likewise, under Article 136, if half the members of the Council of Ministers are changed, the entire government (including the prime minister) must receive a new vote of confidence from the Majlis. On the other hand, when the Majlis is reformed and a new Majlis is elected, the prime minister and the Council of Ministers must receive another vote of confidence from it.

It will be observed that the prime minister is constantly subject to dismissal by the Majlis. That is, under the law, there is no kind of guaranteed stability for the prime minister. The experience of the last ten years has also shown that the prime minister is constantly subject to being changed by the Majlis, and he has only been able to remain on the job because of the direct and indirect recommendations of his holiness the imam in view of the nation's acute war situation.

In any case, the necessity for stability in the nation's management requires that the chief of the executive power and the centralized management be in the hands of someone who has greater stability and strength.

The conclusion is that if centralization of management in the executive power requires the elimination of either the president of the republic or the prime minister, the reasonable and logical choice is to keep the presidency.

Second view: Make the prime minister's position the real locus of power and the presidency a symbolic figurehead. According to this view, the presidency would be retained but merely as a ceremonial and so-called symbolic position. The president would not have executive authority and all authority would be in the hands of the prime minister.

The prime minister would be elected by the Majlis also, as well as the chief of the Council of Ministers. The president would be merely a manifestation of the national will.

India is an example of such a system, where the president does not have authority and only holds a ceremonial position.

Study: All of the problems that were raised against the previous view apply to this view as well, in addition to the fact that this view has two additional problems, which are:

1. Vitiation of the presidency. In nations (such as India) where the presidency is merely a ceremonial post or in similar systems (such as a monarchy or empire where the

monarch is a symbolic position representing the national will, such as Japan and England), the intellectual foundations are completely at odds with the fundamentals of Islam.

In those systems, God, Islam, and the chief theologian do not exist. Therefore, the governments of those countries must create a sacred and infallible position to satisfy the "symbol worship" of their people, but such issues do not exist in an Islamic and divine government. If they have created these posts and are spending millions, indeed billions of their national capital for these posts, they bring their special benefits, but in the Islamic Republic and the Muslim nation it is not allowed to expend such capital for an empty, useless post without features.

2. Vitiation of presidential elections. If the presidency is to be a mere ceremonial position, what need is there to spend huge sums for the people to go to the polls one day and vote and waste their time? Under such circumstances the presidential elections are actually useless. On the other hand, the people have no incentive to waste their time to vote for a purely ceremonial and visual post.

Thus this view is like the previous one (but more negative) and is rejected in our view.

Third view: Eliminate the prime minister's position and keep the presidency. Under these circumstances the president would become responsible for the executive power and manager of the country. The Council of Ministers or the executive apparatus in general would operate under his supervision.

It appears that the most desirable way to reform the executive branch and centralize its management is the above proposal. The reasons for this claim are as follows:

1. Election by the people. The president, being elected by a majority of the people, enjoys sufficient support and credibility domestically and internationally. This popular acceptance and support is the president's most important asset, and with reliance on that the country can be managed in the desired way.

2. Management stability. As we said before, the president can serve for a minimum of four years and a maximum of eight years, and this very thing creates stability in the executive power's management. The natural result of that is stability in decision-making, stability in organization and stability in the executive power's policies. The important role that management can play in the advancement and expansion of the country is not lost on anyone.

Part IV

Introduction: In yesterday's discussion, the subject of the study of "centralization of management in the executive power" was opened and we mentioned the various views on how to achieve this centralization.

Among the three views presented, it was explained that it appears that the most desirable way to reform the executive power and create centralization of management there is the proposal to "eliminate the prime minister's position and keep the presidency" To support this claim, reasons were given, among which were "the president's election by the people" and "stability of management in view of the legal foundations."

In today's discussion other reasons will be studied and we will evaluate the problems with centralizing the executive power in the hands of the president.

Confirmation of President's Election by Chief Theologian.

Under Paragraph Four of Article 110 of the Constitution, the appointment of the president must be signed and confirmed by the great office of the chief theologian after election by the people, while there is no such requirement with regard to the prime minister.

In general the government of the Islamic Republic and its foundations, components and officials derive their religious legality through the position of the chief theologian. Under the Constitution, the legislative power does this through the appointment of six theologians in the Council of guardians by His holiness the imam, the judicial power through the appointment of the chief of the Supreme Court, the chief prosecutor by the leadership, and the executive power as well through the confirmation of the president's election by his holiness the imam. With the elimination of the presidency the religious legality of the executive power would be eliminated. Therefore, if it is a question of elimination of the prime minister's office or the presidency, it is necessary to retain the presidency.

These were the reasons for eliminating the prime minister's position and retaining the presidency to achieve centralization of management in the executive power.

Problems have been raised with regard to the third view, and these problems will be listed and each one answered.

First problem: In the future centralization of power in the presidency may lead to dictatorship and despotism. The reasoning is that since the president is not answerable to the Majlis, if executive power is centralized with him, he might become a selfish power and the same despotic government the people revolted against would rule again in new forms and under the name Islamic Republic.

Answer: We will make several points in answer to the above problem. The first point is that to eliminate the above problem we would have to deny centralization of management in the executive power altogether, because if we agree that the current situation is not desirable and that centralization of management in the executive power is a necessity (as his holiness the imam has said) there is no choice but to turn over all authority to one official. Centralization is a problem for the president in the same way it is a problem for the prime minister. That is, if we say that the presidency is to be eliminated or to become merely a ceremonial position with no authority, or in other words* "a fat lion without a mane or a tail," that would mean centralizing power in the hands of the prime minister. How is it that centralization of power with the president would create a dictator, but not centralization of power with the prime minister? Why is centralization of power in the hands of the president, who is directly elected by the people, whose appointment is approved and confirmed by his holiness the imam, and who is even usually better qualified than the prime minister, a bad thing, while it is a good thing in the hands of the prime minister?

They might answer that the prime minister is under the supervision and control of the Majlis, while the president is not.

In answer we say that first of all Majlis control and supervision of the prime minister is weak. For example, under current law the Majlis cannot appoint the prime minister, it can only confirm him. Second, the Majlis has no right to question the prime minister. Second [as published], in view of the current Constitution, Majlis deputies have the right to summon the president to the Majlis (Article Seven) and if the president is found to be politically inadequate, the Majlis can vote to request his dismissal from the leadership.

We can thus see that the Majlis has a kind of control with regard to both positions. We will have more to say about this.

Second point: As we know, the officials of the government of the Islamic Republic have basic differences with those of the shah's government and other countries, and one cannot compare the officials of this government with the idolaters or others. For example the president, under Article 115, must have a good record, faith and piety and must be a believer in the foundations of the Islamic Republic and the nation's official religion. With such qualities, is it conceivable that granting authority to the president will lead him to selfishness? Will his piety allow him to put despotism in power? The answer is decisively no, unless he does not have the legal qualifications and competence, in which case he would not be able to obtain the position. If we conclude that the more power is centralized in the Islamic Republic the more it will bring corruption merely because centralized power corrupted officials in the time of the idolaters, then we must say that the leadership, which is the cornerstone of power in the government of the Islamic Republic, is also an exception to this rule. If we say that the justness and piety of the leader would never allow him even the appearance of despotism and selfishness, we will also say that the president's piety will not allow him such appearance.

Third point: Apart from the previous point to allay the anxieties that have been raised, the necessary controls on the president already exist in the current Constitution. The Constitution has placed three competent persons with independent discretion in matters of religious jurisprudence in positions of control over the president. These three are:

1. The leadership;

2. The judicial power;

3. The legislative power.

Article 110 of the Constitution describes how the above three parties are to exercise control over the president as follows:

"5. Dismissal of the president, with due regard for the interests of the country, after the Supreme Court convicts him of failing to fulfill his legal duties, or a vote by the Majlis testifying to his political incompetence."

If the president deviates, the Majlis can vote on his political incompetence or the judicial power may issue a verdict that he has violated his legal responsibilities and ask the leadership to dismiss him, and if the great position of the leadership agrees and confirms the request, the president will be dismissed. This is the strongest guarantee of supervision over the president by the Majlis and the judicial power, and this will be a warning to him against any violations.

Second problem: The second problem that has been raised is that if the prime minister's office is eliminated and the presidency is retained, it will weaken the Majlis. The reasoning is that the Majlis will be weakened for two reasons if power is centralized in the hands of the president:

1. The president is not elected or confirmed by the Majlis.

2. The Majlis does not control or supervise the president.

Answer: In answer to the first reason it must be said that so far, and in accordance with the Constitution, the Majlis has never elected the prime minister, it has confirmed him. In any case it is true that the president is not confirmed by Majlis deputies. He is elected and confirmed directly by the people (just as they elect the Majlis deputies). What is the difference between the official of the executive power being confirmed by the representatives of the people or the people themselves? As it happens the people themselves have priority in the election of the official over their representatives.

Thus is what is being discussed is government by the people and if the Majlis's confirmation is credible because it is elected by the people, a direct vote by the people for the president comes closer to meeting the requirement for "national government."

Concerning the second reason, we have discussed this matter sufficiently in answer to the previous problem. Approximately to the same extent that the Majlis controls and supervises the prime minister, it can also supervise the president, in addition to the fact that the judicial power can also exercise a kind of control over the president, but this is not the case with the prime minister. Most important of all, his holiness the imam and the leadership also supervises the president (confirming the president's appointment to office and dismissing him).

If the concern is supervision, this concern is met. If the concern is "weakening the Majlis," this is another issue and we do not know about it. Apart from this, the Majlis has all of its authority and legal rights, and especially with regard to the executive power and the president, no legal right will be taken from the Majlis.

Here it is necessary to mention that the purpose in eliminating the position of prime minister and keeping the presidency is not to follow the pattern of "presidential" systems of government. The purpose is not so that the president will govern not only the executive power but also the judicial power, the legislative power and even the leadership (as it is in some countries such as America where the president can choose his deputies and executive employees on his own and has a kind of governance over the judicial and legislative powers and the military forces).

The pattern we propose is the very pattern of the Constitution. The only change under consideration is eliminating the position of prime minister and transferring its legal authority to the president.

The right of the Majlis to vote on the president's political incompetence and the right of the judicial power to find the president in violation of the law and request his dismissal from the leadership are still in place.

The ministers are also presented to the Majlis by the president and receive votes of confidence. Likewise, the Majlis will have the right to question and interpellate the ministers. The administration of the military, as before, will still be the task of the supreme military commander, and the president will have no role in this.

We see that with the elimination of the prime minister's position, the Majlis will not be weakened. There is no necessity to give any special authority to the president beyond the cadre of the executive power, and the legal implements of control will remain in place.

The Expediency Discernment Council

Our third topic of discussion among the eight areas for amendment in the Constitution is the Expediency Discernment Council. In his letter to the president concerning the Expediency Discernment Council, his holiness the imam said: The Expediency Discernment Council is for solving problems in the government and consultation with the leadership in case the authority is not held by some other power.

Among the eight areas to be amended, two items to be added to the Constitution are the Expediency Discernment Council and "designating a way to reappraise the Constitution." With regard to the Expediency Discernment Council His Holiness the Imam has made three points:

1. Solving government problems,
2. Consultation with the leadership,
3. Authority not held by some other power.

The first two points have to do with the position and philosophy of the council's existence, while the third is a condition and requirement his holiness the imam has placed upon the council. We will now study the subject in light of the above points.

Background for the Expediency Discernment Council

Late in 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988] his holiness the imam issued the order to form the Expediency Discernment Council as part of a message. In this message, he stressed that "the interests of the government and the people is an important matter against which there may be resistance where Islam and the poor people of the earth may be questioned in the near or distant future and the Americanized Islam of the imperialists and the arrogant with the support of billions of dollars from their domestic and foreign agents could be victorious." At the same time, he declared that the primary task of the Expediency Discernment Council is "discerning the interests of the Islamic government in the event of a disagreement between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians."

This message was issued following a letter from the nation's officials to his holiness the imam which declared that "the failure of the Majlis and the Council of Guardians to agree with regard to some of the laws having to do with the interests of the government and government commands" had become a problem for the nation's law-making. After writing guidelines describing the duties of the Expediency Discernment Council, His Holiness the Imam, in addition to the duty of "making decisions concerning differences of opinion between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians," authorized this council to initiate laws on its own "with regard to interests and on the basis of government commands" and to deliver them to the proper authorities. Thus what has been designated in practice by his holiness the imam as the duties of the Expediency Discernment Council revolves around the following two areas:

1. To make decisions concerning differences of opinion between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians.
2. To make decisions and laws concerning the interests of the government and on the basis of government commands. The formation of the Expediency Discernment Council by his holiness the imam, however much it appears to be in violation of the Constitution, was actually done on the basis of the religious guardianship and authority of the leadership and the chief theologian. This was done after a deadlock had developed with regard to the enactment of some of the laws, and at that time it was seen as a very effective measure taken by his holiness the imam. Of course after the cease fire and the acceptance of Resolution 598, his holiness the imam sent a letter to the Majlis denying "a primary law-making responsibility for the council" and emphasizing that the formation of this council was done because of the special circumstances of the time and the war and in order to break a deadlock that had developed in the law-making process, and that efforts are being made to move gradually towards full implementation of the Constitution.

After this letter his holiness the imam limited the duties of the Expediency Discernment Council solely to matters involving differences of opinion between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians.

This was the background for the Expediency Discernment Council. Now His Holiness the Imam deems it advisable that this council be officially included in the Constitution. What is to be discussed now, and what the Constitutional Reappraisal Council must seriously address on the one hand is the position and role of this council in the overall government and especially with regard to the legislative power (the Majlis and the Council of Guardians), and on the other hand this council's duties and authority.

Part V

Introduction: In this article you will read the final installment in the series of articles on the reappraisal of the Constitution.

This section will include a study of the position and role of the Expediency Discernment Council in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic and opinions that exist in this regard. We hope that this series of discussions receives the attention and use of the respected readers of this newspaper.

Position and Role of the Expediency Discernment Council

There are two main views with regard to the role and position of the Expediency Discernment Council in the Islamic government. The first view is that this council should only have the role of consulting with the leadership and that it should not have the right to make decisions or laws, and that this is required to adhere to his holiness the imam's order that this council shall not function as a power of the government.

Whenever it deems it advisable, the leadership may consult with this council on all matters and then take decisions.

The second view is that in addition to its consultative role, the council has the right to make decisions and even to write some laws and regulations, although not in the capacity of a new power ranking with the other three powers.

In view of the council's current role assigned to it by his holiness the imam, and also in light of his guidance in his latest letter, which actually declares two roles, that is the role of "solving government problems" and also "consulting with the leadership," the second view is apparently more correct, on the condition, as the Imam said, that it does not become a power ranking with the other powers.

If we say the council is only to provide consultation to the leader, it can no longer play a direct role in "solving government problems," and this is at odds with the Imam's request and command. Actually, the leader has no need to form a council solely for the purpose of consultation, for if necessary he will consult with all persons and officials from all classes and with all specialties and abilities. The function of the council is thus higher than solely "consultation."

In reality, the Expediency Discernment Council can fulfill its role in three areas:

1. It has the right to make decisions on its own in some areas.

2. In some cases it plays the role of organizing proposals to make to the leader, who will make the final decision.

3. [portion illegible]

The important thing is that the cases and topics within the purview of the Expediency Discernment Council are determined when they do not interfere or overlap the responsibilities and authority of another power, and especially the legislative power (the Majlis and the Council of Guardians).

The Council's Area of Activity and Responsibility

The Expediency Discernment Council can make decisions and laws in two specific areas:

1. Discernment of interests concerning secondary commands.

2. Discernment of interests concerning government commands.

Before we discuss further the two areas above we must first offer an introduction.

In general, Islamic commands and regulations are divided into three groups:

Primary Commands: These commands, which are permanent and eternal, were actually created by almighty God or the most respected prophet (peace be upon him). The criteria and bases for these commands are the interests and evil deeds of mankind. The commands were set specifically to procure these interests and ward off evil deeds. As we said, the basis for the primary commands in the canon of religious law are the evil deeds and the permanent and constant innate interests of human beings and societies. Therefore, the primary commands themselves are permanent, eternal and irrevocable.

Secondary Commands and Governmental Commands: In addition to the perpetual interests and evils, there are usually evils and interests which are temporary and changing. They are created under special circumstances of time and place, and after a period of time, with the passing of the special circumstances and return to normal, those evils and interests disappear as well and give way to the perpetual interests and evils. Almighty God, in order to procure the happiness and growth of human beings in this short time, has made commands known as secondary and governmental commands and these are in general temporary. In the event of special circumstances, the secondary and governmental commands replace the primary commands, and as long as those special circumstances exist, the credibility and religious legality of the secondary and governmental commands remain in force. When the special circumstances pass, these commands are automatically rescinded and give way to the perpetual commands of Islam, meaning the primary commands.

The secondary commands are different from the governmental or interest-related commands in that the criterion for effecting the secondary commands is necessity. That is, when special circumstances become such a crisis that necessity demands it, then the secondary commands replace the primary commands. For example, when one is at the point of death due to the unavailability of lawful food, then he is allowed to eat forbidden food such as his dead. Or in social affairs, if the Islamic government, due to special circumstances, is in such difficulty that it is on the verge of collapse or being shaken, then it can implement the secondary commands to replace the primary commands.

The criterion for invoking the secondary commands is not necessity but interests. That is, whenever the interests of the government and society require it, the governmental commands replace the primary commands. For example, the nation's principal income is procured by oil, and interests might require that less use be made of oil income and that the primary burden of the budget be based on direct and indirect taxation. If such an interest really did exist, it would be enough to revoke the primary commands and levy taxes on the people to the extent required. Here there is no question of the government being shaken or disrupted, merely that the interests of society dictate that it be so. The governmental commands are based on the interests of the system and the Islamic government.

With regard to the secondary commands, necessity is identified by common law. For public affairs, common law is set by the Muslim society, and for specialized affairs the experts and technicians can identify necessity. Once necessity has been identified, the primary commands are automatically rescinded and replaced by the secondary commands, and this situation continues as long as the necessity exists.

As for the governmental commands, recognition of interests is the task of the Islamic ruler. If the Islamic ruler identifies an issue as one of interest, even if this interest requires putting aside the primary commands, this is allowed, but it is required that the governmental commands be implemented at the discretion of the chief theologian and Islamic ruler and remain in effect as long as interests require it. When the interests are met, the governmental commands are automatically rescinded.

This was the required introduction on the primary, secondary and governmental commands.

The primary commands in Islam are clear and specific and without any kind of doubt, and where there is disagreement the resolving criterion is a religious decree from the Islamic ruler and chief theologian. Within these limits there is not much of a problem with making laws, and actually the Majlis has such responsibility. The Majlis usually writes the laws to conform to the primary commands of Islam and Shi'ite theology, and if they do not conform, under the Constitution the Council of Guardians monitors these laws and rejects enactments that are in violation.

What is sensitive is the secondary and governmental commands. Law-making within these limits is sensitive because usually the primary commands are suspended and replaced by the secondary or governmental commands. Therefore the designation of necessity and interests for the purpose of the secondary and governmental commands must be done with sufficient precision and credibility in order to obtain the necessary proof. Unfortunately, under the Constitution, the official who is to identify necessity for purposes of the secondary commands and interests for purposes of the governmental commands is not clear. In the first session of the Majlis his holiness the imam, in view of the necessities of the time, assigned the identification of necessity for the secondary commands in government and social affairs to a minimum two-thirds majority of the Majlis. However, all the laws could not be enacted under the secondary commands and later it became evident that some laws were being advanced on the level of interests rather than necessity. Therefore, the implementation of the governmental commands became an issue and late in 1366 [21 March 1987 - 20 March 1988], his holiness the imam gave the authority to discern the government's interests with regard to the government commands to the Expediency Discernment Council.

Now in view of the sensitivity of these two issues and the competence and precision of the Expediency Discernment Council, which will definitely be more efficient and reliable than the Majlis, it appears that it is appropriate for these two issues to be placed under the purview of the Expediency Discernment Council. Therefore the duties of the Expediency Discernment Council can be placed under the following two headings:

1. Discerning necessity in issues pertaining to the secondary commands.

2. Discerning interests in issues pertaining to the governmental commands.

Some may have doubts because his holiness the imam in 1367 [21 March 1988 - 20 March 1989] said in a letter answering a letter from the Majlis deputies that he considers law-making by the Expediency Discernment Council a violation of the Constitution, and while taking this authority back from the council, he promised that it would act on all issues in accordance with the Constitution.

It is correct that the Constitution has not provided an authority called the Expediency Discernment Council, and therefore elementary law-making by this council is not in accordance with the Constitution, but what if, during amendment and reappraisal of the Constitution, we include the Expediency Discernment Council? Is that still a violation of the Constitution? When his holiness the imam took this authority from the council, it was because it does not exist in the Constitution, but if such an authority with this discretion were added to the Constitution by amendment and the people vote for it, then certainly it would no longer be a violation of the Constitution.

In his blessed letter, his holiness the imam mentioned "solving the government's problems" by the Expediency Discernment Council. Problems and deadlocks are actually created during special circumstances, and not under normal circumstances. Therefore, the secondary commands and the governmental commands are tools for breaking deadlocks and solving problems, and in view of the need for high precision in authorizing them, the most appropriate place for deciding about these laws is the Expediency Discernment Council.

At this point a number of people may say that the responsibility of arbitration between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians in the event of disagreement should also be given to the Expediency Discernment Council.

In our view, if the Majlis and the Council of Guardians carry out their tasks with care and according to the Constitution, actually there will be no such problem as disagreement in need of arbitration. The need for arbitration in case of disagreement between the Majlis and the Council of Guardians, which His Holiness the Imam assigned at that time to the Expediency Discernment Council to break the deadlock, is mainly caused by violations and disregard for the law rather than weakness or deficiency in the law.

This is because the Majlis, according to Articles 71, 94 and 96, is required to study its legislation and laws for their conformity to the criteria of religious law and the Constitution, and likewise, according to Article 93 and especially Article 94, the Majlis is required to amend its legislation according to the views of the Council of Guardians. Concerning this, Article 94 says:

All Majlis legislation must be sent to the Council of Guardians. The Council of Guardians must review it within a maximum of ten days of receipt to ensure its compatibility with the criteria of Islam and the Constitution. If it finds the legislation is at variance with these criteria, it will return it to the Majlis for revision. If this does not occur, the legislation can be implemented.

It will be seen that under this article the Majlis must revise the rejected legislation according to the views of the Council of Guardians, and that it can not accept the council's view or not revise the law. We thus see that the Constitution is completely clear in this regard and there will be no need for arbitration.

Arbitration will be necessary when one of the two sides (the Majlis or the Council of Guardians) wants to improperly fulfill its legal responsibility.

Relation of Majlis, Council of Guardians, and Expediency Discernment Council

One doubt that may arise with regard to the Expediency Discernment Council is that if the power to make laws is assigned to the Expediency Discernment Council within the limits of the government commands and the secondary commands, it may undermine the position and legal responsibilities of the Majlis and the Council of Guardians. Doesn't this power interfere with the powers of the Majlis and the Expediency Discernment Council? The answer to that is no! There is no conflict between the council's powers and those of the Majlis and the Council of Guardians.

We will first discuss the Majlis.

The Majlis, according to the principles of Section Two, Chapter Six, has authority, and also according to Article 71 "can establish laws on all matters within the limits set by the Constitution." The "limits set by the Constitution" mentioned in Article 71 means that the Majlis can establish laws within the limits of the primary commands of religious law and the Constitution. None of the articles of the Constitution says that the Majlis can also make laws with regard to the secondary commands and the governmental commands.

The fact that his holiness the imam several years ago assigned the right to discern the necessity of issues for the secondary commands to the Majlis is itself a strong indication that such authority was not given to the Majlis in the law, and his holiness the imam assigned this authority as a special measure. Discernment of the nation's interests and making laws within the framework of the primary commands and the limits set by the Constitution is the right of the Majlis, and the Expediency Discernment Council will never enter this area of activity. There will thus be no conflict of law-making responsibilities between the Majlis and the Expediency Discernment Council, and the remainder of the Majlis's authority will remain in place.

We will now discuss the Council of Guardians.

The Council of Guardians, under Articles 91, 93, 94, 96 and 97 has authority to bring laws into conformity with the Constitution and religious law only with regard to "Majlis legislation," and in the event of variance it may return this "legislation" for revision and amendment to the Majlis. "Majlis legislation," as has been seen, is made within the limits of the primary commands and the Constitution. It therefore follows that the limits of the authority of the Council of Guardians are the primary commands and the Constitution. Since the Expediency Discernment Council can actually make laws within the framework of the secondary commands and the government commands, there will therefore be no intervention in the duties of the Council of Guardians. The remainder of the council's areas of authority, such as interpreting the Constitution or supervising the elections, are also fully protected.

The conclusion is that in the area of law-making the Expediecy Discernment Council will not interfere in any way with the Majlis and the Council of Guardians, but rather it will complement and complete their law-making functions.

Neither will there be conflict in the area of consultation with the leadership, for the same reason.

This discussion has shown that the Expediency Discernment Council will not be a power ranking with the other three powers, because its area of activity in law-making will be very limited and exceptional, since the principle of law-making is based on the implementation of the primary commands except in special circumstances. In reality the authority the leadership and chief theologian has assigned for the discernment of necessity in issues for the secondary commands and discerning interests in issues for the governmental commands has been assigned to this council.

Composition of the Council

One issue we think should be clarified in the Constitution with regard to the Expediency Discernment Council is its membership. The most suitable membership for such a body with the authority that we have mentioned previously is the same composition his holiness the imam has chosen for the council. The council should consist of two groups of members: Members who are theologians and Islamic experts and members who are managers and experts in affairs. The council's responsibilities, from consultation to law-making, have two dimensions: the theological dimension, and the dimension of expertise and implementation. It is therefore necessary that this council encompass both dimensions. Of course the dimension of expertise takes in specialization, implementation, administration, management, and law. In view of this composition, it is proposed that the council be formed as follows:

1. The theologians of the Council of Guardians;

2. The chiefs of the three powers;

3. The prosecutor general;

4. The prime minister (if there is one);

5. The relevant minister, depending on the issue;

6. Three legal specialists from the Council of Guardians selected by this council;

7. Three Majlis deputies selected by the Majlis

It appears that such a composition can secure the desired aims of the Expediency Discernment Council.

Peace be upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.

Deputy Finance Minister Comments on USSR Talks
LD2407201389 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] According to IRNA, the deputy finance minister, who went to Moscow last week to prepare and sign a draft agreement on the export of Iranian gas to the USSR, returned to Tehran today. On his return, he stated: The draft agreement on the export of Iranian gas to the USSR has been signed. The final version will be signed when the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations chief visits Tehran during the month of Mehr [23 September-22 October].

He added: In almost all the cases related to the agreement on the export of Iran's gas to the Soviet Union, both sides are in agreement with each other. In only one case has final agreement been deferred to the talks which Mr Iravani, minister of economic affairs and finance, will be holding in Tehran with Mr Katushev, the head of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

The deputy finance minister added: In the Moscow talks it was decided that the projects in Iran—to be completed in exchange for the export of Iranian gas to the Soviet Union—will be carried out before the gas is exported and that work on priority projects should be speeded up. Among these projects are the expansion of thermoelectricity power plants in Esfahan, Ramin, and Ahvaz. He also said that in the first year Iran will export 2 billion cubic meters of gas to the Soviet Union; in the following year, it will export 3 billion cubic meters. He added: On the basis of the agreement, this level of gas exports can be raised.

Velayati Meets With Pakistani Defense Official
LD2507173789 Tehran IRNA in English 1240 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 25, IRNA—The visiting Pakistani State minister for Defence Ghulam Sarwar Cheema met with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati Monday. Regional developments and issues of mutual interest were discussed in the meeting. The two sides expressed pleasure at the positive trend in the expansion of Tehran-Islamabad ties.

Cheema arrived here on July 19 heading a delegation for a 9-day visit. He has visited several religious, cultural and military sites in Iran.

Musavi, Pakistan's Cheema Discuss Drug Smuggling
LD2607164289 Tehran IRNA in English 1514 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 26, IRNA—Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi Wednesday called on Pakistan to cooperate with Iran to stop cross border drug smuggling. In a meeting with visiting Pakistani Minister of State for Defence Ghulam Sarvar Cheema, Musavi also urged the setting up of common markets on the Iran-Pakistan.

"Our interests in the region have been linked with each other and we are threatened by similar dangers," Musavi said.

The premier expressed hope that Tehran-Islamabad ties would emerge as model relations in a near future in view of deep friendly ties between the two countries.

The Pakistani official briefed the prime minister on his talks with officials in Iran which he described as fruitful.

IRNA Notes Drug Statistics for Past 4 Months
LD2507175889 Tehran IRNA in English 1245 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Hamadan, July 25, IRNA—More than two tons of drugs have been seized and 230 smugglers arrested by Gendarmerie forces during the last four months. Deputy chief of the Gendarmerie Brigadier General Gudarzi, who arrived here Tuesday morning, told IRNA.

Certain effective measures are under way by the Gendarmerie to prevent drug trafficking in the country while the deadline for drug addicts to give up addiction has come to end and from now on they will be treated as criminals, he explained.

Gudarzi noted that the number of watch-posts along the borders will be increased to this end. [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian at 0730 GMT on 25 July reports that 29 kg of opium was seized and 3 smugglers arrested in Tehran and Sarakhs]

Tehran Commander Assesses Anti-Drug Campaign
LD2407134989 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The commander of the Islamic Revolution Committee of Tehran Province announced in an interview with reporters this morning that during the past 6 months, in the course of the first phase of the antinarcotics campaign with the discovery of 895 kg of a variety of narcotics, 4,660 smugglers and 7,625 vagrant addicts were arrested in Tehran Province. He referred to the termination of the 6-month period given to addicts to give up their addiction and said: The second phase of the anti-narcotics campaign began yesterday and in view of the Expediency Discernment Council's decision to consider drug addiction as an offense, Islamic Revolution Committee Guards will seriously confront addicts and subject them to legal pursuit and arrest. For that purpose, committee guards will be stationed in 70 points throughout the province in the committee's tents and mobile units in addition to their normal duty posts. And they will, in addition to pursuing and arresting addicts, engage in gathering information from the people about the activities of smugglers and addicts.

Concluding the interview, the commander of Tehran Province's committee asked the Islamic ummah to submit any information they have about addicts and smugglers to Islamic Revolution Committee posts and stations or to contact telephone number 128.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI Deplores Murders

LD2707085189 Tehran IRNA in English
0825 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 27, IRNA—A Persian daily Thursday [27 July] strongly deplored the gunning down of 38 senior Mujahidin commanders by a rival group in Afghanistan, saying it was engineered by "elements that had infiltrated Mujahidin ranks."

"It was heinous crime" said JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, and called on the 7-party Peshawar Alliance to adopt a clear stand on the issue and to identify and punish the assassins as well as "the architects of the killing."

The killing of Burhanuddin Rabbani's men by Golbuddin Hikmatyar's group was termed "a stab in the back," by the daily which added that it was a test of faith for all people who care for the Islamic movement in Afghanistan.

Rabbani has publicly blamed Hikmatyar's group for the killings in Takhar province earlier this month, calling for the [words indistinct] both leaders [words indistinct] based Pashto alliance which last February hastily set up a so-called interim government leaving out other mujahidin groups especially the 8- party coalition which controls large parts of Afghanistan.

The Takhar incident has exposed the dangerous rift in the 7-party alliance, which is being exploited by rank outsiders to the Afghan issue.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI concluded "it was time to do something for healing the wounds sustained as a result of the assassination."

TEHRAN TIMES Lauds Amal-Hizballah Accord

LD2707092889 Tehran IRNA in English
09093 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 27, IRNA—The recent agreements reached in Tehran between two major Lebanese revolutionary groups, Amal and Hizballah, can change the balance of power in favour of Islamic and national forces in Lebanon, said an English daily today.

In its editorial, TEHRAN TIMES noted that the 5-point statement released by the two groups in Tehran, "is not the first of its kind" but that it "can have a significance beyond all previous agreements since this has been put together at the highest leadership levels in both organisations."

Leaders of both the groups were in Iran to attend the 40th day mourning ceremony for the great leader of the Islamic Revolution Imam Khomeyni, and after several rounds of talks sponsored by Iran, they pledged to bury the hatchet for good.

The joint statement, said the daily, "spells out the manner in which they will join in their fight against the Zionist occupation forces and its mercenary allies such as Michael Awn in Lebanon."

However, it cautioned against plots by the Christian Maronites and other regional and international reactionaries to undermine the new unity among Lebanese Muslims.

In the next few weeks and months, global arrogance and its agents will certainly try to "create divisions in order to nullify the pact," the daily cautioned, and said only a total vigilance on the part of Lebanese Muslims can thwart these schemes.

"These forces (reactionaries) have been able to to do this during the past 14 years and should not be allowed to do the same again," it stressed.

"Now, fortunately all this has changed and nothing is further proof of this change than the agreement signed recently by no less than fourteen Lebanese and Palestinian anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist organisations," it concluded.

Tehran Daily Condemns Mecca Explosions

NC2107161389 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES
INTERNATIONAL
WEEKLY in English 12 Jul 89 p 2

[Editorial: "Mecca Bombing—Another Conspiracy"]

[Text] Both the Iranian Majlis Speaker 'Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi while expressing concern over the blast in Mecca on Monday night heatedly condemned the explosions in which one person was said to have died and 16 others were injured.

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani while deploring the explosions attributed them to the work of traitors; possibly U.S. conspirators. The Iranian statement, however, also hinted that the Saudi regime may also be behind these explosions. The previous record of the Saudi regime justifies doubts of many. We still do not forget and we will never forget the Mecca massacre in 1987 in which several hundreds of Hajj pilgrims were martyred. Most of them were Iranians.

The films and other witnesses are enough proof to blame the Saudi forces who attacked and provoked the Hajj pilgrims who were chanting mere slogans against the Zionist and U.S. regimes.

Ironically, the Saudi regime had left no stone unturned in proving and blaming Iran for this unprecedented tragedy. This time too we are sure that the Saudi regime will try its best to blame Iran again. But we are sure that this time too the Saudi regime would not be able to succeed in its objectives despite the fact that the Western propaganda machinery is at the disposal of the Riyadh rulers.

Who has done this deed may be a mystery still to be revealed, if ever revealed, but the motive is clear. The motive behind this is nothing less than an ugly terroristic action that has only been taken to stop altogether the demonstrations for 'deliverance from infidels (America and Israel) from ever taking place. This was the object too of the now famous 'Mecca massacres' of two years ago. Moslems aware of the full implications of such conspiracies will not have far to go to realize that they are directed against the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolution. But they cannot surely be effective.

Here we would like to suggest to the Saudi regime to allow an impartial inquiry into the issues. An inquiry by those who believe in genuine Islam should be made on this tragedy so that the faces of the traitors should be made public.

Another vital point is that the Saudi regime proved to be incapable of keeping the Islam's holiest places intact. The idea of giving the holiest places to the world Moslems receives additional weight.

Mines Minister Confers With African Counterparts

LD1407125389 Tehran IRNA in English 1228 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 14, IRNA—Iran's mines and metals minister Mohammad Reza Ayatollahi discussed expansion of cooperation particularly in the mining sector with his Zimbabwean counterpart Richard Hove in Harare Thursday.

Ayatollahi later inspected a gold mine and a gold processing factory in that southern country.

Before arriving in Harare, Ayatollahi had conferred with his Kenyan counterpart in Nairobi Wednesday.

In the meeting, he announced Iran's readiness to cooperate with Kenya in technical, mines and metals fields, which was welcomed by the Kenyan minister.

Khamene'i Meets Taheri, Esfahan Delegation

NC1707085489 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Ayatollah Taheri, representative of the vali-ye faqih [guardian of the jurisconsult] and Friday imam of Esfahan, and a delegation consisting of the governor general, 'ulema, seminarians, clerics, Friday imams, various representatives of the Islamic Majlis and Assembly of Experts, officials, directors of various organizations and government departments, governors, district governors, and some Armed Forces and law enforcement personnel, families of the noble martyrs, various disabled people, and residents of Esfahan, Najafabad, Golpayegan, Kashan, Ardestan, Khomeynishahr, Khansar, Semirom, Faridan, Falaverjan, Shareza, Lenjan, Na'in, Natanz, and Fereydunshahr, met with Ayatollah Khamene'i before noon and pledged allegiance to him as the leader and guardian of the Muslims.

During the meeting, the Esfahan Friday imam and representative of the vali-ye faqih, Ayatollah Taheri, expressed his condolences on the heart-rending demise of Imam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic revolution, and announced the allegiance of the Muslim combatant people of Esfahan to Khamene'i as their leader and the guardian of the Muslims. He added: We consider ourselves duty bound to obey you and your instructions as we would obey the imam.

Our leader then expressed his sympathy on the sad loss of the imam and added: If the Islamic Republic of Iran has emerged as a steadfast and stable system on the international scene, if Western countries are seeking to win the favor of the Iranian nation in various ways, and if the world's view, as reflected by analysts and politicians, is to praise the Iranian nation and the strength of Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is the result of the efforts and struggle of the people and the officials over the past years.

The leader of the world's Muslims termed the Islamic Republic's position in the world as remarkable. He added: That a nation should, amid the cacophony of the rivalry of the great powers, prove that it does not need anyone to remain strong is in itself a sign of the nation's strength. Speaking of the tyrannical system imposed on the world and life of men and the governments that submit to shameless intervention from world oppression, and are thus accomplices in the crimes of the tyrannical powers, he said: Amid this uproar of domination by powers which interfere in all affairs of the people, suddenly a nation emerges that defies the bullying powers and their accomplices and opposes their interference not only in its own country but in other countries as well.

Such an upright country embarks on a confrontation with and struggle against the tyrannical powers and states its views courageously and with disregard for these powers. Today, this nation and this system, despite all the blows inflicted on it, has not only resisted destruction, but is in fact becoming stronger day by day.

Our country's leader stressed the need to preserve unity, sincerity, and fraternal relations among the various strata of the people and said: The Iranian nation should maintain its readiness so that whenever necessary, it can appear on the scene and it should consider the country and the system as its own, in the true sense of the word, and should also support the officials.

Paper Calls for Greater Redistribution of Wealth

LD2307111789 Tehran IRNA in English 0804 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 23, IRNA—The next Iranian president must squarely face the question of redistribution of wealth to maintain public confidence, a daily paper commented Sunday.

KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL said such a task would not be possible without government intervention in the form of "principled, disciplined guidance" which has been missing in past years.

The paper cited statistics showing 40 percent or 20 million of the Iranian population in control of less than 3 percent of the nation's wealth while the 500,000 elite—the top one percent—in control of more than 21 percent.

If, as widely expected, Majlis Speaker Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani is voted president in the July 28 elections the paper believed his most important task would be to improve economic opportunities.

"To maintain...faith and build public confidence his greatest challenge will not be the 'neither East nor West' balancing act," the paper said.

"If the nation is to stand behind his political leadership, maintaining the ideals of the revolution and vision of the Imam (Khomeyni), they must be empowered by a greater sense of economic opportunity."

KAYHAN said such an opportunity could not be created without government intervention but stressed that this should not be mistaken with "the flabby, confused government control of the last years."

"What we have in mind is government control that guides, advises and chastens in the spirit of the nation's well being. Principled guidance that the poor will applaud and the finaglers will fear."

The editorial acknowledged that the dilemma of redistribution of wealth was not unique to Iran.

"But (neither South Korea, the USSR or the United States) staged an Islamic revolution calling for an equal distribution of opportunities and wealth," it added.

Gold Imports Reportedly Averted Economic Crisis

LD2407171789 Tehran IRNA in English 1708 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Tehran, July 24, IRNA—Gold price fluctuation would have plunged the country into an economic crisis, if the government had not taken steps to deposit and control the flow of this precious metal, Central Bank Governor Majid Qasemi told a seminar on gold Sunday.

The economic difficulties could have been solved more efficiently if more gold deposits wre available, he added.

Qasemi disclosed that the government had been importing gold during the last ten years in an effort to guarantee the country's economic stability.

He gave the break up figures as 413 kg in 1979, 595 kg in 1980, 296 kg in 1983 and 23,000 kg [figure as received] of gold purchases in 1985.

The governor said that the Central Bank supports any public investment in exploration and exploitation of gold.

The geological organisation has prepared a plan to locate all gold mines throughout Iran, he added.

Satellite Station Project Completed in Khorasan

NC2207083689 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] With the implementation of the satellite station project and the commissioning of the television station in Arzaneh District in Khorasan Province on the occasion of 'Id-e Ghadir-e Khom, another group of villages in the Torbat'e Jam border area can now receive the television programs of the first network of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Central News Unit reports that with the commissioning of this unit and the installation of new antenna, the residents of villages in the Faruj District of Khorasan Province can also watch the programs of the second network of the Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran on Channel 6.

Yazd Province Telephone Links Improved

LD2707083889 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0730 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Three communication centers in Yazd Province have begun operation. The Central News Unit reports that the people of Sardabad, Shamsi, (Ostaq), and Ebrahimabad, can now utilize these three centers, as well as one UHF and two 100-number installations, and one FX line to establish telephone contacts inside the country or abroad.

The construction of those three centers, installation of communication equipment, and connecting villages to cables, cost over 87 million rials. [passage omitted]

Pakistan

Report on Governor's Rule in Punjab Denied

BK2607160089 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Talking to newsmen in Lahore today, the prime minister's adviser on establishment, Rao Rashid, said the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] government is strongly opposed to the imposition of governor's rule in any province. He described as incorrect reports that the federal government intends to enforce governor's rule in Punjab in view of the deteriorating law and order situation and the confrontational policy of the Islamic Democratic Alliance government in the province. He said opposition is a part of the democratic process; and in the opinion of the PPP government, mutual differences have not come to the point where this extreme action needs to be taken.

Commenting on the involvement of government officials in politics, Rao Rashid said that they are being exploited and the provincial chief minister is using them as a political force. He said the PPP government has provided total protection to government officials, and hence they should not accept unconstitutional orders.

Editorial Views Gandhi's Visit to Pakistan

BK2507085789 Karachi DAWN in English 18 Jul 89 p 5

[Editorial: "Mr Gandhi in Islamabad"]

[Text] An Indian Prime Minister visiting Pakistan has been a rare event. The December SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit aside, the last time that an Indian head of government came to this country was in 1960 when Mr Jawaharlal Nehru was here to sign the Indus Waters treaty. Hence, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's overnight stay in Islamabad on Sunday [16 July] on his way back from a European tour is a gesture that will not go unnoticed for its symbolic significance. Obviously, the two rounds of talks which the Indian leader had with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Ms Benazir Bhutto were not expected to make a major dent in the backlog of Indo-Pakistan problems. A brief encounter in diplomacy cannot in the nature of things radically alter the largely negative pattern of their relationship. But exchanges such as these can provide the impulse for adopting confidence-building measures. They help create the political climate necessary to dissolve the legacy of mistrust and suspicion and resolve disputes that continue to strain relations between the two neighbours. As President Ghulam Ishaq pointed out, to pave the way for closer understanding and cooperation between the two countries, it is imperative for India to dispel the impression that it aims to establish its hegemony over the whole region. Likewise, Mr Gandhi's professed interest in peaceful co-existence and friendship with this country can produce tangible results only if the lines of communication are kept open. There are, of course, quite a few disputed issues of a serious nature that need to be urgently negotiated. A number of them have been specified. Kashmir, Siachen, the Wular Barrage, nuclear energy, and the arms race have long defied a solution, leading to an impasse in South Asia. They should be taken up by the negotiators of the two sides on a step-by-step basis. It is encouraging that some of the issues, notably Siachen, are being discussed at the officials level. On others a go-ahead from the top political leaders would bring some movement in the largely stalemated relationship of the two countries and facilitate the task of the officials.

While negotiations on the various disputed issues should pave the way for improved relations, the importance of building bridges of understanding on a people-to-people level is not to be minimised. Mr Gandhi rightly pointed out in his banquet speech that friendship cannot be forged between governments alone; the people must also be involved in the normalisation process. This can be promoted by facilitating travel, trade and socio-cultural exchanges between the two countries. The joint ministerial commission is already seized of these matters and one hopes that progress will be made in due course. Closer contacts at the popular level will help generate goodwill between the two countries. This in turn should facilitate the process of the resolution of disputes.

Indo-Pakistan relations call for a degree of pragmatism on both sides. A dogmatic and hidebound approach to security concerns and bilateral ties can impede the normalisation process. At the same time, premature or ill-judged optimism could lead to disappointment. Mr Gandhi spoke of resolving problems within the framework of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. If sincerely meant, this should prove an enduring basis for the conduct of the whole gamut of bilateral relations. This plus mutuality of interests and reciprocity should provide the necessary underpinning for Islamabad's and New Delhi's policies towards each other. So long as they are assured that neither of them would encroach on the other's national interests and independence, there is no reason why they cannot sweep away the cobwebs of distrust that divide them and get down to resolving the disputes that have plagued their relations as independent states.

Sri Lanka

Premadasa Reportedly 'Flexibile' on Withdrawal

BK2707071289 Hong Kong AFP in English 0708 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Colombo, July 27 (AFP)—Sri Lanka is ready to discuss an Indian troop withdrawal if New Delhi recognises President Ranasinghe Premadasa as commander of all forces in the island and stops fighting Tamil rebels, a senior minister said Thursday.

Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne told reporters here that Mr. Premadasa was flexible in his demand that the estimated 45,000 Indian troops leave the country by Saturday.

India has rejected a unitaleral deadline set by Mr. Premadasa June 1 that the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) be withdrawn by July 29, the second anniversary of a bilateral peace pact.

Foreign Minister Cited

BK2707092089 Hong Kong AFP in English 0851 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Colombo, July 27 (AFP)—Sri Lanka is ready to end a diplomatic row with New Delhi if it recognises President Ranasinghe Premadasa as commander of Indian troops on the island and stops fighting Tamil rebels, a senior minister said Thursday [27 July].

Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne told reporters here that Mr Premadasa was flexible in his demand that the estimated 45,000 Indian troops leave the country by Saturday if the two issues were resolved by then.

India has rejected a unitaleral deadline set by Mr Premadasa June 1 that the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) be withdrawn by July 29, the second anniversary of a bilateral peace pact.

"We all know the troops can't be moved in one or two days. It's stupid now to assume that. But if these two points are resolved, India will start withdrawing by then (Saturday) and the balance could be discussed," Mr Wijeratne said. His remarks came as India and Sri Lanka seemed headed for a showdown over the Indian military deployment, under the terms of the pact which sought to end Tamil separatism.

Mr Wijeratne said he was hopeful that the deadlock over the IPKF could be resolved before Saturday. "We are not going to fight them. We know our limitations... we feel that India and Sri Lanka could still resolve the problem. The barriers between us are very thin," he added.

Mr Wijeratne said he was having talks with Indian officials in Colombo, but declined to give details.

"I can't say that they agreed to begin a withdrawal by the deadline," he said. But the question of the commander-in-chief and the cease-fire "are the only two issues holding up a resolution of the problem. They have come halfway," he added.

Mr Wijeratne did not say what the implications were of Mr Premadasa being the commander of the Indian troops, but political observers said it could be part of a compromise arrangement under which he could order the IPKF to cease fire against Tamil rebels.

Analysts also said Colombo seemed to have dropped the Saturday deadline for a total pullout to get over the impasse which plunged Indo-Lanka relations to its lowest ebb.

Mr Wijeratne, who is close to Mr Premadasa, denied that Colombo may take the IPKF issue to the United Nations.

"Why should we go to the U.N.?" he asked. "If India pushes us into that, then we will have to review the situation.... There is SAARC and the Nonaligned Movement."

"(But) I think India is trying hard to resolve the problem," he added.

The SAARC, or the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, is a seven-nation grouping which includes India and Sri Lanka, but it normally shuns dealing with bilateral issues between members.

Mr Wijeratne said the government was keen to end all hostilities in the island's northeast where the IPKF is battling to disarm the dominant Tamil militant group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

The Indian Army should stop fighting the LTTE, which is now holding peace talks with Colombo and has renounced hostilities against the Sri Lankan Government, he said. There had been charges that Tiger rebels killed rival militants, and that too must stop immediately, he added.

Minister Cautions Government

BK2107160789 Hong Kong AFP in English 1533 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Colombo, July 21 (AFP)—A Sri Lankan minister on Friday [21 July] joined the opposition in cautioning Colombo against a confrontation with India over the withdrawal of Indian peace-keeping troops from the island nation. "I don't think we ought to go into a confrontation with India," Agriculture Minister Lalith Athulathmudali told Parliament during a debate on the extension of a state of emergency by one more month.

The House, after two days of intense debate, later approved its extension by one more month. A total of 123 MP's [members of Parliament] of the ruling United National Party (UNP) in the 225-member House voted in favor of extending the emergency while 65 from the opposition voted against it. Most other MP's were absent.

Mr. Athulathmudali, once a strong contender for the premiership, said Indo-Sri Lankan ties were facing a "grave crisis" and added: "We have to somehow find a way out." [passage omitted]

Speaking later, opposition leader and former prime minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike criticised Mr. Premadasa's policy towards India and asked: "Can we afford this kind of conduct leading to a confrontation with India?" Mrs. Bandaranaike, who heads the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), said her party also opposed the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), but would have dealt with it differently if it had been voted to power.

She said she would have handled the IPKF issue "in the customary spirit of friendship and understanding with which we have conducted international relations" and chided the UNP government for erring "in its judgment of the problem and the way to deal with it."

"There are ways and means of achieving the right results on a matter like this without striding into collision with the Government of India," she said.

Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne, who defended the emergency rule, said that the government was hopeful of settling its dispute with New Delhi over the IPKF "in a friendly manner". He said Sri Lanka did not possess the "arms and might" to confront "a big neighbour like India". [passage omitted]

Labor Demands Indian Pullout

BK2607120189 Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The Ceylon Federation of Labor [CFL] views with grave concern the explosive situation that has been created in Indo-Sri Lanka relations over the continued stay of the Indian Peacekeeping Force [IPKF] in the North and the East. A statement issued by the general secretary of CFL, (Pathy Weerakoon), says that the federation does not in any way wish to belittle the role played by the IPKF in suppressing the insurgency in the North and the East. But both its achievements and what it failed to achieve have for some time now given rise to certain questions. Therefore, the Indian Government has no alternative but to comply with the demand and withdraw its Army as requested by the Sri Lankan president. The CFL has every hope that the Indian people and their government have no intention of trifling with the sovereignty of a neighboring and friendly country. It is this sovereignty that the Indian Government will come into conflict with in any attempt to further maintain the IPKF in Sri Lanka.

Opposition Leader on Withdrawal

BK2607114489 Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The demand for the withdrawal of the Indian Peacekeeping Force [IPKF] has almost unanimous popular support in our country today, says the national organizer of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party, Abey Gunasekera. In letters to President Premadasa, and the Indian prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr Abey Gunasekera says the situation of confrontation between the two governments cannot serve the best interests of either Sri Lanka or India. In fact, it can do much harm to the traditional bonds of friendship between the two countries, who respect and cherish independence, freedom, and democracy.

Addressing President Premadasa, he says the Indo-Sri Lanka accord is clearly an intergovernmental agreement which gives President Premadasa the right to decide on the future role of the IPKF.

In his letter to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Mr Abey Gunasekera says that while appreciating the fact that Mr Gandhi is currently facing an election year, he must however give (?great) consideration to the current political situation in Sri Lanka. This situation can become a major problem for India, especially if such conditions are exploited by outside extra-regional forces hostile to India. Therefore, it is Mr Gandhi who must take the first step.

He can do so on his own initiative, because he announced in April to his Army high command that he will be withdrawing the bulk of the Indian troops from Sri Lanka's territory. He can keep his word to his own Army and the people and start substantial troop withdrawal by August. The phased withdrawal of the rest can be discussed between the two defense ministers and the Army high commands, and a plan for a total phased withdrawal announced simultaneously.

It would be best if the withdrawal could be completed in time for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation summit. This is the best way to restore confidence and mutual respect, which is the only foundation for genuine friendship between the people of India and Sri Lanka.

Dailies Cited on 'Row'

BK2707064689 Hong Kong AFP in English 0631 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Colombo, July 27 (AFP)—Two Sri Lankan newspapers Thursday urged the government to resolve the row over the Indian military presence in the island nation without a showdown with New Delhi.

The privately-owned THE ISLAND and the state-run DAILY NEWS said Sri Lanka should try to defuse the diplomatic crisis with India, which has rejected Colombo's calls to withdraw some 45,000 troops from the country by Saturday.

"It has to be realised that a confrontation with India ... could have disastrous consequences," said THE ISLAND, adding that the Indian troops would become an occupation army if they failed to leave Sri Lanka by Saturday.

President Ranasinghe Premadasa asked India on June 1 to take back the peacekeeping troops by July 29, the second anniversary of a 1987 bilateral pact under which they were deployed in Sri Lanka's North-Eastern Province.

Mr. Premadasa has asked the Indians to confine to barracks if they cannot pull out by the deadline.

"Our fervent hope still is that both India and Sri Lanka will be able to reach a settlement and avoid a confrontation," said THE ISLAND, adding that indications however were that Indian troops "will be very much on Sri Lankan soil by July 29."

If that happens, the English-language daily said, "it becomes undoubtedly ... the biggest occupation army in the world today."

It said that since Colombo was not in a position to throw out the Indian troops, "our strategy will be able to expose Indians to the world as the biggest bully, the pious hypocrite no better than the worst imperialist or neo-colonialist power."

It was the second editorial appeal in as many days by THE ISLAND, which bitterly opposes the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), to Sri Lanka to avoid a confrontation with India and defuse the diplomatic row over the troops.

The DAILY NEWS said the countdown for July 29 had begun and hoped that an Indian troop withdrawal would take place "without creating new problems for the government, the security forces and, indeed, the economy."

"There is no desire whatever that the traditional good relations between Sri Lanka and India should in any way be damaged," it added.

The DAILY NEWS, which is known to reflect official thinking, said the controversy over the IPKF should be resolved "with the least possible damage to Indo-Lanka relations."

Indian troops in Sri Lanka have been seeking to militarily disarm the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the most powerful Tamil militant group since October 1987 after it repudiated the peace accord.

More than 1,000 soldiers and thousands of civilians and suspected militants have died in the fighting, which continues despite Mr. Premadasa's calls to New Delhi to halt the military offensive.

'At Least' 31 People Killed in Violence 26 Jul

BK2607113089 Hong Kong AFP in English 1113 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Colombo, July 26 (AFP)—Suspected anti-government militants bombed two Indian banks in the Sri Lankan capital Wednesday [26 July] as violence elsewhere left at least 31 people, including 14 Indian soldiers, dead in the island nation.

An unknown number of men lobbed bombs at the State Bank of India and the Indian Bank here, causing slight damage to the buildings and injuring two employees, police and witnesses said. The two banks are within walking distance of each other.

The State Bank was about to close for the day while the Indian Bank was shut when the bombs were hurled, leading police to open fire in the air and sending hundreds of people running in fear.

The attacks were widely suspected to be the work of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP, or People's Liberation Front), a Sinhalese militant group which violently opposes the presence of some 45,000 Indian soldiers in Sri Lanka's Northeast. The troops are deployed under a 1987 bilateral pact, the second anniversary of which falls Saturday.

In the island's east, Tamil guerrillas exploded a land mine under an Indian Army truck when it was passing on a highway in Trincomalee district late Tuesday, killing 14 soldiers and injuring three, security sources here said. It was the biggest such attack in recent weeks. But no further details were available and Indian diplomats declined comment. The attack was blamed on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the most powerful Tamil guerrilla group which has repudiated the 1987 accord which sought to end Tamil separatism.

Both the LTTE and the JVP are opposed, for different reasons, to the accord and the Indian military presence.

Also overnight Tuesday, JVP militants killed a policeman, three soldiers and seven civilians, while bodies of five men killed and burnt were found in different parts of the troubled island. [passage omitted]

Banks Bombed; Strike Begins

BK2607124789 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] In Sri Lanka, bombs were thrown at two Indian banks in Colombo today as JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Party] extremists prepared for a major showdown with the Sri Lankan Government on Saturday, the 2d anniversary of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. Security forces and police personnel have been put on maximum alert all over the island as the 5-day strike called by the JVP paralyzed work in government and mercantile offices and banks in central and southern parts of the island today.

14 IPKF Soldiers Killed

BK2607140589 Colombo Domestic Service in English 1245 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] Fourteen Indian soldiers of the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force] were killed and three wounded yesterday evening by a landmine when the vehicle in which they were travelling was blown up. The incident occurred when the vehicle was passing the village of (Waidopana) in Trincomalee District.

According to the Joint Operations Command [JOC], three soldiers were killed and two wounded when a security forces' mobile patrol was ambushed at Queen's Estate in Badulla. One of the wounded was a civilian. Six persons along with ammunition were taken into custody at (Bulakopchia) and Undokoda at Kegalla District. Another six were taken into custody at (Mahkolla) yesterday.

According to the JOC a T-56 rifle and (?200) rounds of ammunition were recovered during this operation.

Meanwhile, bomb explosions were reported in several places in Colombo, according to police (?sources). No one was injured. One explosion took place at the Indian Overseas Bank. The other was at the (Mallapurba) trade center at (Bamlapitya) and the State Bank of India in Colombo (?4).

According to bank sources all state banks were closed today. Several employees in government offices in Colombo and in the outstations refrained from discharging their duties.

These sources pointed out that the police had to disperse [words indistinct] demonstrations shouting anti-Indian slogans in several places.

Officials said that bus and train services were operational according to normal schedule.

Further on Strike

BK2707094689 Hong Kong AFP in English 0930 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Colombo, July 27 (AFP)—Strikes demanding an Indian troop withdrawal gripped much of Sri Lanka Thursday [27 July], ahead of the second anniversary of a peace pact which brought the Indian Army into the island republic.

Bank, port and telecommunication workers continued to strike, while hundreds of employees staged noisy demonstrations outside their offices and factories here and elsewhere, demanding that the 45,000 Indian troops quit Sri Lanka.

The strikes and picketing, including outside the offices of the state-run radio and television networks, was peaceful, witnesses and security sources said. Government offices here were open, but attendance was reportedly thin.

Several thousand people, including women, were taking part in the protests which began Wednesday, reports said.

A bomb exploded in a kiosk selling government-run newspapers here Thursday, but no one was injured.

The strikes and picketing are part of a protest campaign called by the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP, or People's Liberation Front), a militant group bitterly opposed to the Indian military presence in Sri Lanka.

The JVP, which operates from the underground though being legal, Thursday announced a two-day "curfew" beginning Saturday, the second anniversary of the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka accord which sought to end Tamil separatism.

The JVP announcement was made through leaflets and posters distributed in Colombo and its suburbs, dubbing the Indian military as an occupation force and calling on the people to fight "Indian imperialism." Similar letters were also sent to newspaper offices here.

Minister of State for Defence Ranjan Wijeratne declared here Thursday that the government was ready to take on the Sinhalese rebel challenge and said that they would be dealt with in the "most ruthless manner."

"There is only one government in the country," he told reporters. "Nobody else can enforce a curfew. Those who try will be dealt with severely."

He said troops, armed with emergency powers since last month, remained with shoot-on-sight orders.

Mr Wijeratne said extra security had been provided to Indian establishments here after Wednesday's bomb attacks on two Indian government-owned banks and an Indian joint venture factory. The attacks were blamed on the JVP.

Troops, including men from the Army, Navy and Air Force, were seen patrolling Colombo's streets, which were Thursday devoid of the normal heavy traffic. "Our men are on full alert," said a military official here.

The JVP seeks its support from the majority Sinhalese community. Since the 1987 pact was signed, it has been blamed for hundreds of killings, mainly of political opponents, security personnel and supporters of the accord.

But the JVP-sponsored protest calls have been ignored across the Tamil-majority Northeastern Province, where the Indian troops are continuing a military offensive against diehard Tamil guerrillas.

TULF Reportedly Not To Elect Leader Soon
BK1907124589 Hong Kong AFP in English 1235 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] Colombo, July 19 (AFP)—Sri Lanka's main moderate Tamil political party, two of whose leaders were assassinated last week, will not elect a new chief immediately, Tamil sources said Wednesday [19 July].

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) will meet here to decide on a new leader only when its president, Murugesu Sivasithambaram, who was injured in the July 13 attack, recovers fully, the sources said.

Three suspected Tamil militants shot dead TULF secretary general Appapillai Amirthalingam, who was an MP [member of parliament], and his colleague, V. Yogeswaran, at their common residence here. The attackers were killed by Mr. Amirthalingam's bodyguards.

The sources said Mr. Sivasithambaram, who was wounded during the assassination attempt, was out of danger but in plasters and under sedation in hospital. "He is in no position to take part in discussions," a TULF source said. "Only when he recovers fully will we be able to sit together to decide who will lead the party."

Mr. Amirthalingam was a founder of the TULF and was known as the godfather of the Sri Lankan Tamil separatist campaign for an independent state called Eelam. A veteran politician, he was among the first to welcome a 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord, which sought to end the Eelam campaign and under which New Delhi has deployed some 45,000 troops in the island's North-east.

Foreign Minister Warns of Criminal Elements
BK2607133789 Colombo Domestic Service in English 1245 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] The minister of foreign minister and the state minister for defense, Ranjan Wijeratne, told the SLBC [Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation] that the government has reliable information that certain criminal elements are declaring to use the issue of the presence of the Indian Peacekeeping Force in the country to subvert democracy and overthrow the newly elected government.

The minister said the government continues to take adequate steps to protect the people from criminal elements and had given clear instructions to the security forces and the police to prevent [words indistinct] if they are necessary against destructive elements.

The minister appealed to all religious dignitaries and the clergy in the country not to permit any gathering, meeting or demonstration in their places of worship as government has positive information of plans by criminal elements to initiate destruction from places of worship. The public should, therefore, be vigilant and not fall prey to the machination of criminal elements.

Record 31 Kg of Heroin Seized in Last 3 Months
BK1407101489 Colombo LANKAPUVATH in English 0902 GMT 14 Jul 89

["OANA/pool" item]

[Text] Colombo, 14 July (LANKAPUVATH)—Sri Lanka's law enforcement agencies have seized a record 31 kilograms of heroin with an international street value of one million U.S. dollars (Sri Lankan Rupees 30 million) during the last three months.

A spokesman for the Narcotics Bureau of the Sri Lanka police told LANKAPUVATH today, that the detections included 14 kilos of heroin seized by the police off the coast of north-western fishing port of Kalpitiya, 15 kilos by the customs at Colombo International Airport and another 2 kilos by the police in Colombo.

He said that in most cases under investigation it had been found that the smugglers had travelled on false passports.

In one instance, where a smuggler was caught by the customs at the Colombo International Airport trying to smuggle 2 kilos of heroin in the false bottoms over a set of stainless steel tumblers, the alleged king-pin of the racket, a businessman residing in Pettah, has been detained by the Narcotics Bureau.

The 31 kilos of seized heroin were caught when being smuggled into the country from the Indian sub-continent.